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MINOR KALEK.

THE LIFE
OF
MUNGO PARK.

— *Si non tenuit, magna tamen excedit aequa.*
OVID.

EDINBURGH:
PUBLISHED BY FRASER AND CO.
NORTH BRIDGE
1835.

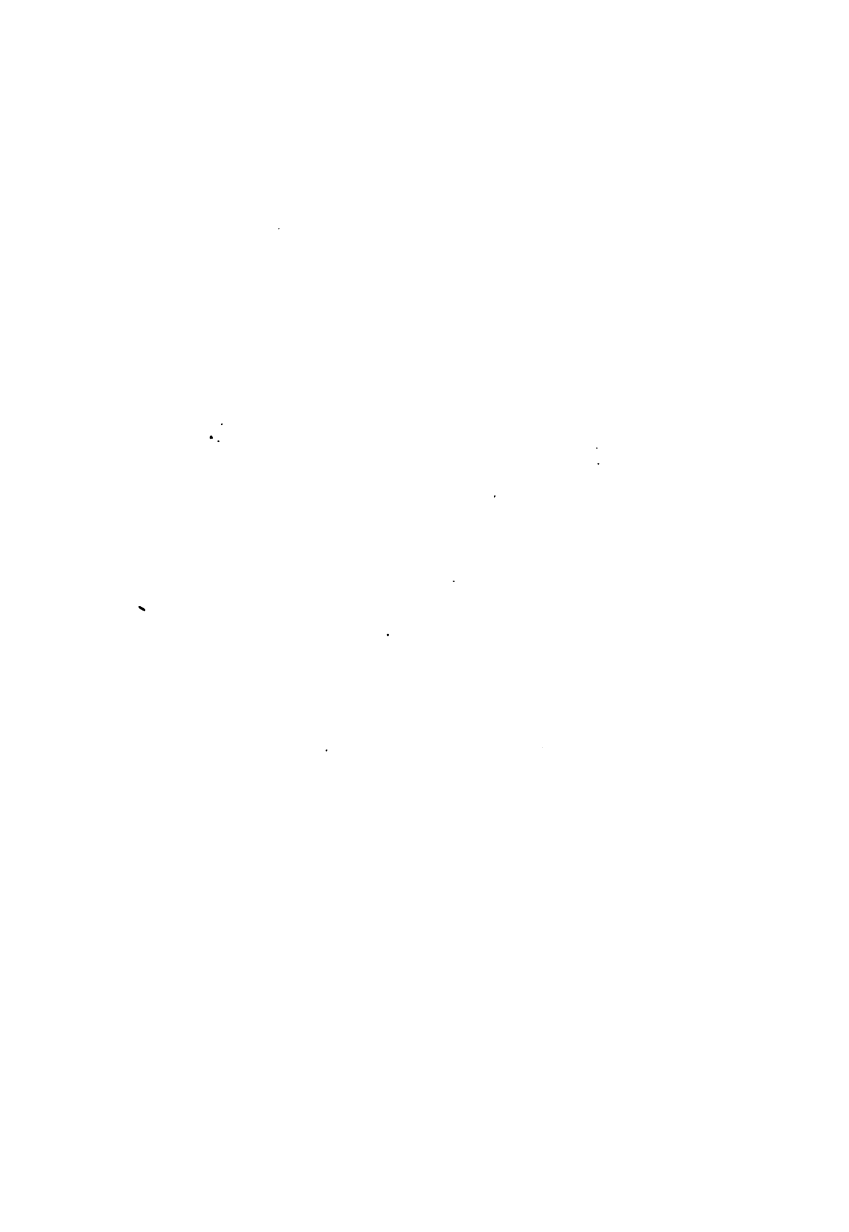


EDINBURGH :

Printed by ANDREW SHORTREDS, Thistle Lane.

TO
ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, ESQ.
OF BLYTHESWOOD,
LORD LIEUTENANT OF RENFREWSHIRE, &c.

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P R E F A C E.

As considerable attention has been paid of late to the subject of African discovery, it is hoped that a Memoir of the enterprising Mungo Park, more full than any that has hitherto appeared, and prepared from authentic sources of information, will not be unacceptable to the public. The author is aware that the peculiar interest excited by that traveller's adventures has, in some measure, suffered by the lapse of time since his death, and has also been partially superseded by the claims of more recent enterprise in the same quarter of the world ; but the name of Park is too intimately and honourably connected with the cause of discovery in Africa to be easily forgotten, or to suffer by comparison with the most eminent and the most fortunate of his successors ; and, in one respect, no time could have been more happily chosen than the present for an attempt to give an account of his adventurous career. The mystery which so long hung over his fate has at length been cleared up ; the termination of his last journey, and his melancholy death, are no longer the subject of conjecture. It has been ascertained beyond a doubt, that he actually perished at Boussa, just as he had succeeded in conquering all the apparent difficulties of his expedition, and was on the point of being wafted on the bosom of the Quorra to a happy termination of all his wanderings.

These facts we owe to the information obtained by Captain Clapperton in his second journey, and to the more recent enterprise of the brothers Lander, who, in tracing the Niger to its termination in the Atlantic, the merit of finishing the task which Park had so nobly commenced. Upon other points also intimately connected with his discoveries, much additional light has been thrown by the researches of the above mentioned travellers, and others who have of late years contributed to enlarge our knowledge of African geography and manners. The author therefore feels that whatever advantage may be lost to his little work by the intense interest which was at one time felt regarding its subject having now subsided, is more than compensated by the information obtained, which enables him to substitute truth for error, and certainty for idle conjecture.

But biography is liable to suffer more from tardy delay than from precipitate haste. In the latter case, indeed, we are apt to fall into some mistakes which time might have enabled us to correct; but, in the former, we frequently miss altogether those minuter traits of individual character which constitute the principal charm of this species of literature. The author cannot flatter himself that his account of Park is entirely exempt from this charge, since, perhaps, nothing short of personal acquaintance with the subject of his memoir will enable a writer to give those finer touches which are necessary for conveying to his reader a just idea of character. Such acquaintance he had not the good fortune to possess; but he has endeavoured to supply the deficiency by minute inquiry among those of Park's friends and companions who knew him most intimately. Fortunately, many of these are still living, and such of them as the author had an opportunity of consulting, met his inquiries with a willingness to oblige which deserves his grateful acknowledgment. If the result of these inquiries has

contributed less bulk of information to that which was already in the hands of the public than the author at first expected, he is satisfied that, in some interesting points, it throws light on Park's private character and domestic habits; and he has the satisfaction of knowing, that he has exhausted all the important information which Park's family and his companions have it in their power to communicate. He begs particularly to acknowledge his obligations to Mrs Park, the traveller's widow, for some interesting particulars communicated by her; to Mr John Park, Fowlshiels, his brother; to Mr Thomas Smibert, Peebles, an old acquaintance and intimate friend of Park; and to Mr Robert Chambers, of Edinburgh, whose readiness to oblige deserves to be honourably mentioned among the services for which literature is indebted to him.

While acknowledging his obligations, the author begs to mention particularly, that he is much indebted to the memoir of Park's life prefixed to the first publication of his *Journal* in 1815. That memoir was drawn up by a distinguished member and director of the *African Institution*, from papers communicated chiefly by Park's brother-in-law, Mr Archibald Buchanan, of Glasgow, and is written with much elegance and judgment, as well as general correctness of information. As a *Life of Park*, however, it is in many respects deficient. Writing at a distance from Park's native county, the ingenious editor had little opportunity of collecting those apparently trifling anecdotes of his early life and domestic habits which are so valuable to the biographer; he also laboured under the disadvantage of writing before the recent discoveries in Africa had cleared up the mystery of Park's fate, and confirmed, in a great measure, his opinion with regard to the course of the Niger; and his plan compelled him to confine himself to a mere introductory memoir, instead of a regular *Life*, embracing the narrative of

Park's wanderings in Africa, as well as the record of his less active life at home.

As the most interesting part of Park's life, and that in which he had the best opportunities of exhibiting those admirable qualities which qualified him in so pre-eminent a degree for pursuing the path by which he has immortalized his name, was that which he spent in Africa, his biographer would be discharging his duty very imperfectly were he to omit, or, as has hitherto been done, pass over with a slight notice, this important part of his career. He is aware that, to any thing like a regular abridgment of Park's Travels and Journal, it may be objected, that these works are already in the hands of the public, and that they must suffer greatly by being presented in a form which necessarily excludes much of the information which renders them valuable, and many of the little incidents which enliven the original narrative. But a Life of Park which did not embrace a pretty full account of his two journeys into Africa, would little deserve the name, and would furnish very imperfect data for estimating the character of that distinguished traveller. At the same time it is right to mention, that in following him through his journeyings it formed no part of the author's plan to make a systematic abridgment of Park's published Travels:—he has confined himself exclusively to what concerns the traveller's personal adventures, leaving much of the information and discoveries recorded in his own publication altogether untouched.

It is only necessary to add farther, that the Map of Park's routes which accompanies the present volume, is partly reduced from Major Rennell's, and partly copied from the small map illustrating Lander's journey, which accompanies Murray's recent publication of that traveller's expedition.

H. B.

LIFE
OF
MUNGO PARK.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Park's Birth and Boyhood—Originally destined for the Church—Serves his Apprenticeship as a Surgeon—His love of Botany—Is appointed Assistant Surgeon on board an East India ship—Sails for Bencoolen—Returns to England—New Prospects of Knowledge of Africa possessed by the Ancients—Modern Discoveries—Disputes concerning the Niger—African Association—Ledya, Lucas, Houghton, — Park departs for Africa.

It is very fortunate for the general interests of science, that men of genius, when engaged in the pursuit of a favourite object, are ever apt to undervalue its attendant difficulties, and exaggerate to themselves the chances of success. Great discoveries are generally the result of repeated experiment, subject to frequent failure, and were every obstacle anticipated in the outset, many an important enterprise, which has ultimately led to the happiest results, would have been at once abandoned, or a fatal weight would be continually pressing upon that ardour as

elasticity of mind which are absolutely necessary for conducting such undertakings to a successful issue. But although inconsiderate daring has sometimes achieved a victory under circumstances where prudence would scarcely have hazarded an engagement, in general the efforts of the former have only paved the way for the latter, which is thus enabled, with comparatively little trouble, to secure all the real advantages of the conquest. In reviewing the past history of discovery, we cannot overlook the somewhat discouraging fact, that the original projector is generally left to struggle with difficulties, which, from his experience, some more fortunate successor learns to evade or overcome : he points out the way, and advances painfully, step by step, in the face of a thousand obstructions, while he who follows after finds the most formidable of those obstructions already removed ; his own sanguine hopes are frustrated, while his very errors contribute to secure the success of a rival ; and, not unfrequently, he to whose enterprise and courage his country's gratitude is most justly due, finds his labours forgotten, and himself defrauded of his fair share of fame, while another enjoys the fruits and the credit of his discoveries. This is undoubtedly a hardship ; yet, perhaps, the world's injustice in this respect has practically had a good effect, inasmuch as it serves to impose a salutary check on enterprise, to which the human mind is naturally too prone.

It prevents the timid and the selfish from embarking on adventures for which they are necessarily disqualified ; while on men of nobler spirit, and more generous sentiments, difficulties and dangers have no other effect than to call forth more strenuous exertion. The little prospect of deriving from it personal advantage only makes the enterprise, in their eyes, the more honourable ; and the very uncertainty of that fame for which they chiefly contend, capriciously as it has sometimes been awarded, has the effect of enhancing its value, and increasing their eagerness to secure it.

Such has been the case, in a very remarkable degree, with regard to African discovery. The difficulties to be encountered in exploring the interior of that barbarous country, under a burning sun, over pathless deserts, and amid savage and hostile tribes, are so obviously great as, at first sight, to appear insurmountable ; yet, in defiance of every danger, and undeterred by the failure of former attempts, we have seen one brave man after another undertake the perilous adventure, till at last their efforts have been crowned with more than partial success. That most difficult problem in African geography, the course and termination of the NIGER, has at length been solved ; and such acquaintance has been gained with the physical and moral geography of the country generally, as must greatly facilitate any future efforts to open

up a more intimate communication ; and even warrants the hope, that, through the friendly intercourse of commerce, the nations of Europe may be enabled, at no very distant period, to dispense the blessings of civilization and a purer faith to the natives of a region hitherto abandoned to ignorance and oppression. But while we indulge in the contemplation of this pleasing prospect, and freely admit that our expectation of seeing it realized is founded, in a great measure, on more recent information than that of Mungo Park, we must not forget the strong claim upon his country's gratitude of that gallant adventurer, who first, by his sagacity and courage, prepared the way for after success ; whose important discoveries so extensively illustrate the physical aspect of central Africa, its civil institutions, and peculiarities of native character ; and in whose writings is still to be found the best and most valuable part of our information upon these subjects. Park was not, indeed, the first modern traveller who attempted to penetrate into the Negro countries, but he was the first whose attempt was attended with any considerable degree of success, and whose views and discoveries were of sufficient importance to form the basis of future operations : he had personally achieved much more than any of those who had preceded him in a similar attempt ; and, with regard to what still remained undone, he left to

his successors the rich legacy of his recorded experience to warn and to instruct them. In this respect his labours have proved invaluable; and it is at once a noble tribute to Park's merit, and highly creditable to their own candour, that the most eminent travellers who have recently directed their efforts to the same object, have vied with each other in bearing testimony to the sagacity, courage, and rigid adherence to truth, uniformly displayed by him who has justly been styled the Father of African discovery.

MUNGO PARK was born at Fowlshiels, a farm near the county town of Selkirk, September 10th, 1771. His father, whose Christian name was also Mungo, rented this farm from the Duke of Buccleuch, and belonged to that respectable class of tenantry which still exists within the bounds of Ettrick Forest, but which, in other parts of the country, is fast giving way to the system of large farms, requiring the command of a considerable capital. His mother's name was Hislop: she was the daughter of a neighbouring farmer, and a woman of great prudence and good sense. She lived to a considerable age, having survived, for many years, that son whose life of dangerous adventure had been to her alternately the source of anxiety and of pride, and for whose melancholy fate she found some consolation in the unblemished character and the undying name which he left as

a legacy not to his family alone, but to the land of his birth, and to the age in which he lived. Mungo was the seventh child of a numerous family of thirteen, eight of whom attained to years of maturity.

Park's father was, by what we have been able to learn of his character, an ornament to the station in life which he occupied. An intelligent and successful farmer, and possessing many estimable qualities as a neighbour and general member of society, he was particularly anxious to give his children the benefit of an excellent education. Not satisfied with personally superintending their progress in the elements of reading and writing, or leaving them to such chance instruction as children in a similar rank of life are in the habit of receiving till they are fit to be sent to a public school, Mr Park engaged a private tutor to reside in his family, — a circumstance then very unusual among the class to which he belonged, and which, considering that he was far from being in affluent circumstances, shews strongly the importance which he justly attached to regular habits of early application and uninterrupted study. The advantages attending such judicious attention to early instruction are sufficiently obvious, and were particularly evident in the present instance. Mr Park had the satisfaction of seeing the greater part of his family respectably settled in life; and although he did not live to witness the full sun-

shine of his favourite son's fame,* he had seen, in his early conduct, a fair promise of future distinction, and, what must have been still more gratifying to his heart, a pledge that his career, whether illustrious or obscure, would ever be marked by those principles of honour and integrity which can adorn the highest, and give dignity to the humblest station.

Public curiosity is ever anxious to be made acquainted with the early habits and disposition of those who have attained to eminence in after life. We are willing to find in the character of the boy the first dawns of those qualities by which the man has been distinguished ; and there is a general disposition, in such cases, to lay a weight upon circumstances, and attach an importance to trifles, which scarcely deserve, and would not in any other case have attracted notice. Such attempts are seldom successful in eliciting more than the fact, that the early boyhood of eminent characters does not differ greatly from that of ordinary men. The partial prognostics of friends are seldom verified with sufficient accuracy to deserve much attention ; and even when they have been justified by the event, there is some difficulty in deciding whether the prophecy was not rather a lucky guess than the result of a just perception of

* He died in 1792, at the age of seventy-seven.

character : but when we reverse the process, and attempt to read character backwards, there is still greater room for delusion : our reminiscences are all coloured by prejudice ; and, with our determined wish to find in the boy “ the father of the man,” it is very hard if we can fix upon nothing amid the thousand eccentricities of early life to satisfy ourselves, and a world already predisposed to admire, that the infancy of a great man was different from that of vulgar mortals. When Hercules had cleared the world of monsters, mankind found no difficulty in crediting the story, most probably heard then for the first time, of his having strangled serpents in his cradle. Park’s boyhood fortunately appears to have been so little distinguished by wonderful events, or by any marked indication of future eminence, as to leave his biographer under no temptation to draw upon his reader’s credulity by relating youthful prodigies. Even that love of enterprise by which he afterwards so highly distinguished himself, and which, of all other qualities of mind, we might expect to find developed at an early period of life, does not appear to have manifested itself at this time. On the contrary, he was remarkable only for his quiet gravity of demeanour, and propriety of conduct,—a character which he certainly maintained through the whole course of his after life, but which is not exactly that which we expect in

the youthful candidate for fame, or from which men generally are disposed to draw their auguries of future celebrity. He began, indeed, at a very early age, to manifest a great love of reading ; but this can scarcely be considered as any thing more than the natural and ordinary consequence of that anxiety which his father had shewn, and the judicious means which he adopted, to promote his children's education. His reading itself was as miscellaneous as the scanty stores of a cottage library permitted ; and it is not known that he evinced any preference beyond the usual boyish partiality for books of mere amusement, unless it deserves to be mentioned, that he shewed a more than usual fondness for poetry, especially the minstrelsy, whether written or oral, of his own native district. The Scottish Border, celebrated alike for the deeds of rude chivalry done there in former times, and for the minstrel strains, scarcely less rude, in which the record of those deeds is still partially preserved, has long been the land of romance ; a character which it cannot be said to have lost in our own day, while its music still breathes in the verse of Leyden and of the Ettrick Shepherd, and its scenes and traditions have been hallowed by the touch of a far mightier master, — Scott. Tales of feuds and forays, traits of generosity, and deeds of desperate valour, especially when associated by local interest with

the land of our nativity, or, still nearer, with our native district, will ever possess the most powerful influence over the youthful mind ; and it may easily be supposed that Park, with the ardent feelings and daring spirit of adventure which he concealed under a cold and retiring manner, yielded himself to that influence without reluctance. It is certain, that he always retained a fond and enthusiastic partiality for the Border songs and traditions, which had impressed him deeply when a child ; and perhaps it is not too fanciful to ascribe to those early studies much of the generous feeling, and not a little of that high spirit, which we shall have occasion to remark as forming important features in a character which is principally distinguished by calm determination, fortitude, and steady perseverance.

At a proper age young Park was sent to the grammar school of Selkirk ; but, as the distance between Fowlshiels and the county town was little more than a couple of miles, he still continued to reside under the paternal roof, and to enjoy the advantage of his excellent father's advice and example. At school, where he remained till his fifteenth year, he maintained the same character for steadiness of conduct and thoughtful taciturnity which he had already acquired in the domestic circle. Of his confidence he was never, at any period of his life, very

liberal ; and he was particularly sparing of it among his young companions. But, in his case, this must be ascribed to constitutional reserve rather than to that suspicious temper which is generally found in close connection with selfishness. To his own particular friends he was frankness itself. His confidence was never given by halves ; and, although he continued through the whole of his after life to be averse to the society of strangers, and to shrink from their familiar advances, no man enjoyed more the company of those who had once gained his affection, or more amply repaid the pleasure which he derived from their conversation, by laying open to them the treasures of a well stored mind, and a most affectionate heart. With his schoolfellows he appears to have cultivated little intercourse beyond what his circumstances rendered indispensable : but his studious habits and superior scholarship saved him from the charge of stupidity, which his reserve might otherwise have incurred ; and some sparks of latent spirit, which occasionally flashed forth, protected him from any attempt at insult, to which his unsocial disposition might have subjected him on the part of his noisy schoolfellows. He was a great lover of solitude, and usually spent his holidays in rambling among the hills, or along the romantic windings of his native Yarrow. Fowlshiels is situated on the banks of

this stream, so celebrated in song,* in the immediate vicinity of Bowhill, a summer residence of the Duke of Buccleuch, and nearly opposite to the ruins of Newark Castle. The *Lay of the Last Minstrel* has since made these scenes familiar to every reader of taste, and invested them with a poetic interest, which to the modern pilgrim greatly enhances their natural beauty; but in the eyes of young Park they stood in need of no such advantage. They were recommended to him by that charm which the scenes of our boyhood ever possess for our imagination, even independent of their actual beauty: their romantic character was rather felt than distinctly seen—quietly enjoyed rather than systematically admired. Little, probably, did he think, in those early days, when, stretched on the sunny banks of the Yarrow, he greedily devoured some favourite volume of romance, and felt his enthusiasm kindled, or his feelings touched, by the fictitious tale of heroic daring and unmerited suffering, that one day the real adventures of his own life should furnish a more interesting narrative, which would extort many a bright tear from youthful eyes, and teach

* The name is associated with some of the most beautiful verses in native and English poetry. Hamilton's pathetic ballad, *The Braes of Yarrow*, and the exquisite lines of Wordsworth on *Yarrow Unvisited*, and *Yarrow Visited*, will readily occur to the reader's recollection.

many a little breast to glow with admiration of that spirit which inspired his daring enterprise, and an ardent desire to emulate his fame. Few books are perused with greater satisfaction by the young than Park's *Travels*; and fortunately the work is not more calculated to amuse the fancy than to instruct the mind, and improve the heart, by its valuable information, its just reflections, and its generous sentiments. As an author, Park is entitled to no small share of the commendation bestowed by Horace on the writer who at once delights and instructs :—

—— Qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.

A little anecdote, communicated by his brother, deserves to be mentioned as an instance of the pleasure with which friends recall, and the importance which they attach to, a chance expression when it happens to be accidentally verified. When he was a very young boy, in his father's house, he observed the servant maid, while engaged in sweeping the floor, toss about very unceremoniously some printed pages. He immediately remonstrated with her for *sweeping in book leaves*. The servant replied contemptuously, that they were some of old Flavel's; upon which the boy remarked, "Ay, you, or somebody else, will one day be sweeping in my book leaves, saying, they were old Mungo

Park's." His mother overhearing the conversation, jestingly said, " You poor useless thing, do you think that you will ever write books?" Park reminded the good old lady of the circumstance when, in the pride of successful authorship, he afterwards presented to her a copy of his Travels.

Park's original destination was the Church. In Scotland it has long been a very common practice, among that class to which his father belonged, to educate one of the family for the sacred profession. This may be ascribed in part to the strong religious feeling which pervades the Scottish peasantry, and their attachment to their national church and parochial clergy; but, no doubt, it is also owing, in a great measure, to the ready access which even the humbler ranks have to classical education, and to the circumstance, that although the theological course of study prescribed by the Church of Scotland is tedious, and, in one sense, expensive, the parent is very soon relieved of the burden by the facilities presented to students destined for the Church, earning the means of carrying on their own studies, by devoting a part of their time to the education of the young, either in the parish schools, or in private families. In this respect to a parent with limited means, the burden educating his son for the Church is in reality less than in preparing him for either of the o

learned professions, whose course of preparatory study is less tedious, and, upon the whole, not more expensive. But to whatever cause we are to ascribe it, the fact is certain, that the peasantry of Scotland have contributed largely to the ranks of her churchmen; and perhaps it is not too much to say, that to this class she has been principally indebted for the most useful and the most learned of her parish clergy. Mr Park shared the popular feeling on this subject; and Mungo, who appeared to be specially qualified for the sacred profession by his superior scholarship, and by the gravity and steady decorum of his deportment, was fixed upon as the future minister. But young Park shewed a decided repugnance to the course chalked out for him; and it was at length resolved that he should study medicine, a profession for which he had manifested some partiality, and where his friends probably thought that his gravity might not be altogether thrown away. A boy's choice of a profession is generally supposed to indicate the bias of his genius, and to furnish a key to the character of his mind; but the choice is so often the result of mere caprice or accident, that we can seldom infer from it, with any degree of safety, more than the idle feeling of the moment. It is certain, that Park manifested in after life very little enthusiasm for the profession of his early choice; and, whatever may have originated his repugnance to that for

which his father destined him, his regular habits, sound principles, and modest propriety of conduct, render it improbable that it could have proceeded from any contempt for religion, or youthful dislike of submitting to those restraints which the profession of a clergyman is justly understood to imply. We might, indeed, hazard the supposition, that he had, even at this early period, imbibed that love of adventure, which eventually raised him to such unrivalled eminence as a traveller; and that, compelled to choose a profession, he selected, not that which was most congenial to his own wish, but that which gave the fairest promise of enabling him to gratify his favourite passion. This, however, would be attaching too much weight to a circumstance in itself trivial, and which is of importance only as it influenced Park's future destiny.

The first rudiments of his profession were acquired under the care of his future father-in-law, Mr Thomas Anderson, a respectable surgeon in Selkirk, to whom he was bound apprentice in his fifteenth year. In Mr Anderson he found both an able and a friendly teacher; and the attachments which Park soon formed with the members of his amiable family gave him a new home in the domestic circle with which he was to be still more intimately connected in after life. In this situation he continued for three years, during which he availed himself, both in private,

and by occasional attendance at the grammar school, of such opportunities as his leisure afforded to carry on his classical studies, and acquire some knowledge of mathematics. At the same time, Mr Anderson's practice, which was pretty extensive, gave his pupil the means of carrying on with great advantage his more immediately professional studies, and formed the best preparation for his deriving the full benefit of that course of medical study which is followed at our Universities. His apprenticeship being ended, in 1789 he went to the University of Edinburgh, at that time justly celebrated as an excellent medical school, and prosecuted, for three successive sessions, the usual course of medical study. Although, except in his mere choice of it as a profession, he never appears to have manifested much love for the healing art, he displayed in its acquisition his usual perseverance; and was, if not an enthusiastic, by no means an unsuccessful student. He was particularly fond of botany, which at one time constituted the chief part of medical science, and which still forms an important branch of medical education. This favourite study Park pursued with great ardour during the summer months which his vacations permitted him to spend in the country. A fortunate circumstance enabled him to gratify his predilection for a science, his acquaintance with

which proved eminently useful to him at a future period. His brother-in-law, Mr James Dickson, well known among botanists by his valuable work on plants of the genus *Cryptogamia*, and by his numerous contributions to the Transactions of the Linnæan Society, took young Park with him on a botanical tour which he made about this time through the Highlands of Scotland. In this interesting expedition the youthful student derived the greatest benefit from Mr Dickson's experience and superior science; while, at the same time, he had the satisfaction of gratifying, in some degree, that passion for travelling which determined his future career. Under these circumstances he very naturally became an enthusiast in what had long been his favourite study; and to his attachment to this fascinating pursuit he owed, in a great measure, the notice and friendship of Sir Joseph Banks, whose patronage he afterwards found of essential service. His companion, Mr Dickson, had already, and on the same account, attracted the attention of that distinguished botanist. Born in a humble rank of life, he had, when a young man, gone up from Scotland to London; and for some time worked as a gardener in the service of a nurseryman at Hammersmith. He afterwards lived for some years as gardener in several respectable families, and finally established himself in London as a

seedsman. Having always entertained an ardent passion for the study of botany, with which his present business, as well as his former occupation, was so intimately connected, he took occasion to wait on Sir Joseph Banks, who had formerly seen him at Hammersmith, and taken some notice of him as an intelligent young man, of industrious habits and superior talents. Sir Joseph now received him with great kindness, encouraged him in his pursuits, and admitted him to the free use of his library, which contained the most complete collection on botany and natural history at that time in Britain. Of this valuable privilege Mr Dickson availed himself so successfully as, in a short time, to become distinguished among English botanists, and to contribute largely to the advancement of his favourite science. But his fondness for more intellectual pursuits did not tempt him to neglect his proper business as a seedsman; on the contrary, he followed it to the close of his life with unremitting diligence, and with distinguished success. He lived on terms of intimacy and friendship with several of the most eminent scientific characters of the day; and it was probably in the hope of his being able to avail himself of his brother-in-law's influence from his scientific connections, that Park, after having completed his medical studies at Edinburgh, was induced to go to London in search of professional employment. In this hope he was

not disappointed. Mr Dickson introduced his young friend to Sir Joseph Banks, by whose interest he was soon after appointed to the situation of assistant surgeon in the Worcester East Indiaman.

Thus commenced, between our traveller and Sir Joseph Banks, a connection which afterwards ripened into mutual esteem, and the warmest friendship. Park, indeed, was in general the party obliged; but perhaps Sir Joseph had, on the whole, the greater reason to congratulate himself on their acquaintance. He had the merit of having at once appreciated, and the satisfaction of having early patronized, a young man whose estimable qualities, and splendid discoveries, were soon to obtain for his name such distinction as to make it an honour to have possessed his friendship. The president of the Royal Society had indeed, on other grounds, a powerful claim to the respect and lasting admiration of his countrymen; but the ready patronage which he afforded to men of merit, and especially his marked and constant kindness to Mungo Park, will ever be remembered as an important element of his fame, and as creditable alike to his discrimination and liberality. It is to be regretted, that those who have raised themselves to the first eminence in literature or science should not always follow so admirable an example, and leave selfish feelings and petty jealousies to those little

minds which, being incapable of any nobler effort, are often tempted to seek a precarious reputation by trying to prevent others from rising above their own paltry level.

The Worcester, in which Park had received his appointment of assistant surgeon, sailed for the East Indies in the month of February, 1792; and, after a voyage to Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, returned to England in the following year. In the course of his voyage, Park had availed himself of every opportunity of extending his acquaintance with natural history. He added to his botanical collection several specimens of plants, which he afterwards presented to his benefactor, Sir Joseph Banks; and, on his return to England, he contributed to the Transactions of the Linnæan Society a description of eight new fishes from Sumatra, the fruit of his leisure hours during his stay on that coast. Indeed, it is sufficiently apparent, that such studies possessed a much greater degree of attraction for him than the regular business of his profession; and the scientific circle into which he was now introduced by the kindness of Sir Joseph Banks, and in which he appears to have spent much of his time after his arrival from India, was calculated to confirm him in the preference which he had always given to the pursuits of natural science. Whether he had at this time actually resolved, at all hazards, to throw up his appointment in the

Company's service is not known ; but there can be little doubt that he was willing to exchange it for some more congenial employment, and that he was anxiously looking about for some situation in which he should no longer be fettered to the drudgeries of a profession which he never practised without manifest reluctance. His wish was soon gratified. An enterprise was presented to his view, which, however uninviting to the generality of men, was peculiarly well suited to a mind which blended an enthusiastic ardour of discovery, considerable scientific attainments, and habits of attentive observation, with decision, perseverance, temper, and intrepidity, such as have rarely met in any one individual. But before entering upon the most important era of Park's life, that which connects his name so honourably with the history of African discovery, it will be proper to advert shortly to the circumstances which have rendered this great continent so much an object of interest to Europeans, and led to those dangerous enterprises of which it has long been the object.

Though occupying in extent more than one half of the whole Eastern Continent, Africa was, for the most part, little known to the rest of the world, till the Arabs, and afterwards the Turks, carried their conquests and their creed into the heart of its barren deserts. The physical geography and moral condition of its central states were, for many ages, altogether hid in obscurity

and even now are very partially known. The acquaintance with Africa possessed by the ancients was almost exclusively confined to the countries adjacent to the Mediterranean. With these, indeed, they had frequent intercourse both in peace and war; but of the vast extent and internal geography of the Libyan continent, they had no certain knowledge. Even the coast, owing to the then imperfect state of navigation, had only been explored between the Pillars of Hercules and the south-eastern extremity of the Arabian Gulf, till after the establishment of the Roman power in Egypt, when the merchants of Alexandria, coasting along the shores of the Indian Ocean, carried their commercial enterprise as far as the tenth degree of latitude south of the equator. It does not appear that they ever pushed their discoveries much beyond this; for even at the time when Ptolemy wrote, Prasum, which the most eminent modern geographers suppose to be Cape Delegado, was the extreme point with which their traders were acquainted. The navigation along the western coast was either unattempted, or soon relinquished, in consequence of the terror inspired by the mountain waves of the Atlantic beating on a barbarous and dangerous coast. Indeed, as their course must necessarily have been close along shore, not daring, with their imperfect knowledge of navigation, to stand out to sea, the voyage might justly

be considered as all but impracticable. It is true, that Herodotus informs us, on the authority of the Egyptian priests, that some Phœnician navigators, employed by Pharaoh Necho, proceeding by the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, circumnavigated the African continent ; and, in the course of three years, returned to Egypt by the Pillars of Hercules and the Mediterranean. This account, however, was received by the ancients as fabulous, owing to some circumstances, which, with our present information, seem to confirm its truth. Among other wonders, the navigators asserted, that during part of their voyage they saw the sun on their right hand, that is, to the north, which must necessarily have been the case while they were south of the equator ; but which, according to the belief then prevalent of the figure of the earth, and of general astronomy, appeared of itself sufficient to throw discredit on the whole of the expedition and its alleged discoveries.

Whether or not this voyage ever really took place it is certain, that from it the ancient geographers gathered little information as to the extent, figure and character of the African continent. Imperfect however, as was their acquaintance with the coast, their knowledge of the interior was more limited. Beyond those kingdoms which its southern confines skirted the Great Desert, they conceived all was a sandy plain, altogether inhospitable, parched up with heat intolerable to

but abundantly peopled with every species of monster which their imaginations could conceive. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this general ignorance in regard to the kingdoms of central Africa, their knowledge of the existence and the true course of the Niger should have been more accurate than that possessed by the most eminent of our modern geographers till within a very few years, when the discoveries of Park finally settled this long disputed point.

Herodotus, the great father of profane history, gives an account of certain travellers belonging to the country of the Nasamones, comprehending part of the modern Tripoli and Barca, who, proceeding in a westerly direction till they had passed the sandy desert, saw a great river flowing eastward. This the historian conjectured to be the Nile; but, since the discoveries of Park, it has generally been supposed to be the Joliba, which still later discoveries have identified with the Quorra. On the banks of this river they saw many populous towns, and particularly one very large city, to which they were carried by the natives, and which answers to the description given by modern travellers of Timbuctoo. The country is described as being inhabited by little black men, much addicted to necromancy; in this, as well as in other features of their character, corresponding exactly with our knowledge of the native popula-

tion of Nigritia at the present day.* Pliny, agreeing with Herodotus as to its easterly direction

* In the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1829, there is an attempt to prove that the river mentioned by Herodotus, and afterwards by Pliny, was in Mauritania, and was either the Tafilet or the Ad-judí. The learned writer denies that the ancients had any knowledge of Africa south of the Sahaara, and asserts, that the Nasamonean travellers could not have proceeded beyond Barbary. I confess, that the reviewer's reasoning, though ingenious, is to me not satisfactory, and that his theory appears less probable than that which places the ancient Niger in our modern Nigritia. Herodotus's words are, "Τους νεηνίας ὄδασι τε καὶ σιτιοῖσι ἐν ἔρητυμοῦς ἵσται σα πρῶτα μὲν δια τῆς ἄκαιομινης· ταυτῆν δὲ διέξιλοντας, ἐς τὴν θηριώδια ἀπικισθαί· ἐκ δὲ ταυτῆς τὴν ἔρημον διέξιναι, τὴν ὄδον ποικυμοῦς πρὸς ζιφυρον ἄνιμον· διέξιλοντας δὲ χωρὸν πολλοῦ ψαμμωδία, καὶ ἐν πολλῆσι ἡμέρησι ἴδου," κ.τ.λ. "The young men having supplied themselves with water and provisions, first of all passed through the inhabited country, which, having traversed, they came to the region of wild beasts. From this they proceeded through the desert, travelling toward the west; and, having crossed a vast sandy country, after many days, they saw," &c. It has been objected that the course here taken, πρὸς ζιφυρον ἄνιμον, would have brought the Nasamonean travellers, not to Timbuc and the Niger, but to some of the rivers in Mauritania. But it is to be observed, in the first place, that it was not after entering the desert that they are said to have proceeded in this westerly direction: in the second place, that it must have been impossible for them without a pass to ascertain exactly what was west; and, in the third place, Lieutenant Colonel Leake has shewn, in a paper read before the Geographical Society, that by proc-

and termination in the Nile, traces this river from lower Mauritania in a somewhat fanciful course, and describes it as sometimes rolling over the parched desert in a majestic stream, and again hiding its waters beneath the sand, but still continuing its onward progress till it joined the great father of waters in Upper Egypt. He also makes it the boundary between the Africans and the Ethiopians. Pomponius Mela, acknowledging at the same time that a great part of its course was still unknown, has given, upon the whole, the most correct account of the Niger; which he describes as flowing from west to east till it reaches the centre of the continent, when its farther progress becomes uncertain. The great geographers Strabo and Ptolemy, throw very little light upon this interesting but obscure question. But meagre and unsatisfactory as the notices left us by the ancients on this subject certainly are, they all appear to agree in one very important point, namely, in giving their Gir, or Niger, a course from the west eastward, which Park, during his first journey, actually ascertained to be its course for upwards of three hundred miles of its progress.

west-south-west, that is, in a direction not more south than half way between west and south-west, from Bilma, whence they are supposed to have started, the travellers might have arrived at the Niger; and he concludes, that the city to which they were carried could have been no other than Timbuctoo.

The Arab writers, however, who might be expected to have more accurate information, from the circumstance of their countrymen, soon after the adoption of their religion in Egypt and along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, having frequent intercourse with the natives of central Africa, ascribed to the Niger an opposite course from that given it by Herodotus, and made it flow westward. Edrisi, one of their most celebrated geographers, Abul-feda, and Leo Africanus, a Moor of Grenada, have all countenanced this error, though it is not improbable that they confounded the Niger with the Senegal, which does in reality flow in this direction, and has its source not far from that of the former; and their authority, no doubt, contributed principally to the general prevalence of the error concerning the course of the Niger among modern European writers on geography, with the single exception of D'Anville. This distinguished geographer appears to have paid great attention to the obscure subject of African rivers, and to have been greatly assisted by the accounts which were transmitted, from time to time, by his countrymen at Fort St Joseph, a French settlement on the upper Senegal. It is not a little astonishing, that such obvious sources of information as the European settlements on many parts of the coast and great rivers of Africa, should have contributed so very little to our knowledge of its internal geography.

The Portuguese, so early as the fifteenth century, had succeeded in opening a communication with the natives of the west coast as far south as the mouth of the Zaire, or Congo ; and the English and the French soon after established factories on the Gambia and Senegal. These nations appear to have been satisfied with carrying on their intercourse with the people of the interior by means of the native traders and slave merchants, who, at certain seasons, visited the coast. It is true, the governments of France and England made some feeble efforts, the former by the Senegal, and the latter by the Gambia, to reach Timbuctoo, the great mart of African commerce ; but these attempts, inadequately supported, and soon abandoned, served no other purpose than, by their failure, to discourage that spirit of adventure which in so many other regions of the globe had been crowned with success. As for the Portuguese, their principal attempts to penetrate into the interior of Africa were directed with the view of ascertaining the locality of Prester John's dominions, and of opening a correspondence between that somewhat apocryphal potentate and the see of Rome ; but, having failed in this laudable attempt, they quietly settled down on the coast in the capacity of traders, leaving the interior of Africa still a blank in modern geography.

But the spirit of adventure, though it had

long slumbered, was not yet extinct, especially in England, where, towards the close of the last century, a few private individuals had the courage to renew the attempt which the most powerful governments in Europe had abandoned in despair. In the year 1788, an association was formed in London by a few wealthy and public spirited gentlemen, for the purpose of promoting discovery in Africa. This society, well known under the name of the African Association, and now incorporated with the Geographical Society, numbered on the list of its most active members, several gentlemen of eminent scientific attainments ; among others, Major Rennell, and Sir Joseph Banks, who were sufficiently alive to the importance of ascertaining the actual course and final termination of the Niger, judging rightly, that this river, should it be found to communicate with the sea, might be the means of establishing an advantageous commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the uncivilized natives of central Africa.

Their first attempt at investigating this subject was by the way of Egypt, through which Mr John Ledyard undertook to penetrate to the Niger, proceeding from Cairo to Senaar, and thence travelling westward over the unexplored African continent. This indefatigable, but eccentric traveller, possessed at least one qualification for such an enterprise, for he pro-

fessed an utter disregard of every thing in the shape of personal comfort. He was, besides, inured to every variety of climate, and was possessed with a restless passion for seeing strange lands, which made travelling to him the very business of life; but in the nobler and equally indispensable qualities of patience and foresight he was signally deficient. He advanced only as far as Cairo, where, meeting with an unexpected disappointment in the delay of the caravan with which he was to have proceeded on his journey, he fretted himself into a bilious fever, which shortly after terminated his brief career. He was succeeded by Mr Lucas, who proceeded only five days' journey to the south of Tripoli. The next adventurer was Major Houghton, who, in 1791, attempted the discovery of the Niger from the western coast. He ascended the Gambia to Pisania, and, proceeding in a northerly direction towards the Sahaara, or Great Desert, was treacherously plundered by the Moors who accompanied him, and died at Jarra, where his fate was afterwards ascertained by Park in following nearly the same route, and the spot pointed out where he had perished.

Such is a very brief sketch of what had been attempted in African discovery with reference to the Niger, when Park returned from his voyage to India in 1793. Of the course and termination of that mysterious river nothing was known with certainty. Vague conjecture, founded on the

unsatisfactory and conflicting statements of native traders, was all that could hitherto be hazarded on these interesting points. With this, however, the African Association was unwilling to rest satisfied. Though unfortunate in their former attempts, these public spirited gentlemen were so far from relinquishing their object, that, upon receiving intelligence of Major Houghton's fate, they immediately began to look out for some fit person to succeed him in his dangerous enterprise. At this moment Mungo Park presented himself.

On making the necessary inquiries, the gentlemen of the Association had reason to be well satisfied with Park's qualifications for the enterprise on which he was so eager to embark. His intelligence, enthusiasm, and youthful vigour, were powerful recommendations in his favour: his constitution was already, in some measure seasoned for a tropical climate by his India voyage; and his knowledge of medicine seemed to promise additional security for the preservation of his own health, and a ready passport to the gratitude and respect of the ignorant natives. His offer was accordingly accepted, and the necessary arrangements made for enabling him to proceed to Africa. The motives which prompted him to engage in an enterprise so dangerous, and the feelings with which he contemplated its doubtful issue, are very simply *beautifully* described in his own narrative:

had a passionate desire," he says, "to examine into the productions of a country so little known; and to become experimentally acquainted with the modes of life and character of the natives. I knew that I was able to bear fatigue; and I relied on my youth, and the strength of my constitution, to preserve me from the effects of the climate. The salary which the Committee allowed was sufficiently large, and I made no stipulation for future reward. If I should perish in my journey, I was willing that my hopes and expectations should perish with me; and if I should succeed in rendering the geography of Africa more familiar to my countrymen, and in opening to their ambition and industry new sources of wealth and new channels of commerce, I knew that I was in the hands of men of honour, who would not fail to bestow that remuneration, which my successful services should appear to them to merit." Such sentiments, considering the certain danger to which he was about to expose himself, the slender chance of success, and the distant prospect of personal reward, furnish a remarkable proof of that singular intrepidity and disinterestedness, which were afterwards so conspicuous in the character of the great African traveller. But neither Park himself, nor his employers, could have foreseen the unrivalled eminence as a traveller which he was so soon to attain; and that it was chiefly in connection with

his name, that the African Association should be remembered by posterity.

Notwithstanding the friendly efforts of Sir Joseph Banks, who exerted himself to expedite the preparations for his departure, a considerable time elapsed before Park could leave England. It was at first proposed that he should accompany the newly appointed Consul at Senegambia, Mr James Willis; but that gentleman's appointment being afterwards rescinded by Government, Park obtained a letter of recommendation to Dr Laidley, a resident at Pisania, an English factory on the Gambia, together with a letter of credit on the same gentleman for £200; and sailed from Portsmouth in the brig Endeavour, a vessel trading to the Gambia for bees wax and ivory, on the 22d day of May, 1795.

CHAPTER II.

Park's arrival in Africa—His reception at Pisania—He is seized with Fever—Description of the Natives—A Lawsuit—Commences his Journey into the Interior—Interview with the King of Woolli—African Character—A Wrestling Match—Proceeds on his Journey—Arrives at Bondou—His reception at Court—Passes through Kajaaga—Arrives in Kassen—Proceeds to Kaarta—War between Kaarta and Ludamar—He changes his Route to Ludamar—His Treatment by Ali—His Captivity at the Moorish camp of Benowm.

PARK's instructions were, that on his arrival in Africa, "he should pass on to the river Niger, either by the way of Bambouk, or by such other route as should be found most convenient; that he should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of that river; that he should use his utmost exertions to visit the principal towns or cities in its neighbourhood, particularly Timbuctoo and Houssa;* and that he should be afterwards at liberty to return to Europe, either by the way of the Gambia, or by such other route as, under all the then existing circumstances of his situation and prospects, should appear to him to be most advisable."

* It has since been ascertained that there is no town of this name. Houssa, or Haussa, is the name of a territory.

On the 4th of June, the Endeavour came in sight of Africa, and on the 21st, after a pleasant voyage of thirty days, anchored at Jillifree, a town on the northern bank of the Gambia, where she remained for two days ; and afterwards proceeded up the river to Jonkakonda, where she was to take in part of her lading. Here Park received a visit from Dr Laidley, to whom he had despatched a messenger to intimate his arrival, and received from him a pressing invitation to spend his time at his house till a favourable opportunity should occur of prosecuting his journey. The invitation was readily accepted, and a few hours easy riding brought them to Pisania, where our traveller soon found himself comfortably domesticated in the family of his hospitable countryman. But Park was not born for a life of ease : the leisure which he now enjoyed he devoted to the acquisition of the Mandingo tongue, which is in general use in this part of Africa, and, indeed, is almost universally understood, being the language of commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of the interior and the native traders on the coast. He also frequently conversed with the Slatees, or free black merchants, who came with slaves from the interior for the European market, and endeavoured to obtain from them such information as might be useful in directing his future course ; but he found their accounts too va

and contradictory to entitle them to much credit. On one point only they all agreed, namely, in earnestly dissuading him from prosecuting his journey into the interior ; but this only made him the more anxious to ascertain the truth from his own personal observation. Soon after his arrival at Pisania he was attacked by the fever to which Europeans are usually subject on their arrival in tropical climates, in consequence of his having imprudently exposed himself to the night dew, in observing an eclipse of the moon, for the purpose of determining the longitude of the place. This confined him to the house during the greater part of August. His recovery was slow ; and on the 10th of September he suffered a relapse, in consequence of having overheated himself in one of his botanical rambles. The fever, however, was less violent than before, and the skill and attention of Dr Laidley soon perfected his recovery.

During his convalescence, and through the remaining part of the rainy season, he had an opportunity of making himself acquainted, in some measure, with the laws and manners of the different tribes which border on the Gambia, These are chiefly the Feloops, Yaloffs, Foulahs, and Mandingoes. The first he describes as implacable in their resentments, but grateful for kindness, and remarkable for fidelity to their trust ; the Yaloffs are active and warlike ; the

Foulahs are fond of peace, and chiefly devote themselves to agriculture and a pastoral life; the Mandingoes, who are by far the most numerous class, are also, generally speaking, the most sociable, intelligent, and industrious of all the natives of this part of Africa. The great part of the people, he found, were Pagans; but the Mahommedans, having the advantage of a written language, had generally obtained that influence in all matters of importance, which education possesses over ignorance. He accordingly found that the *Koran* and its commentators were almost universally had recourse to for the purpose of settling all disputes in matters of civil right. "This frequency of appeal," he remarks in his *Travels*, "to written laws, with which the Pagans are necessarily unacquainted, has given rise in their palavers to (what I little expect to find in Africa) professional advocates, or pleaders of the law, who are allowed to appear and to plead for plaintiff or defendant, much in the same manner as counsel in the law courts of Great Britain. They are Mahommedan Negroes who have made, or affect to have made, the study of the Prophet their peculiar study; and, if I judge from their harangues, which I frequently attended, I believe that in the forensic qualifications of procrastination and cavil, and the art of confounding and perplexing a cause, they are always surpassed by the ablest pleaders in Europe."

While I was at Pisanía a cause was heard which furnished the Mahommedan lawyers with an admirable opportunity of displaying their professional dexterity. The case was this : an ass, belonging to a Serawoolli Negro, (a native of an interior country near the river Senegal,) had broke into a field of corn belonging to one of the Mandingo inhabitants, and destroyed great part of it. The Mandingo having caught the animal in his field, immediately drew his knife and cut its throat. The Serawoolli thereupon called a *palaver*, (or, in European terms, *brought an action*,) to recover damages for the loss of his beast, on which he set a high value. The defendant confessed he had killed the ass, but pleaded a *set off*, insisting that the loss he had sustained by the ravage in his corn, was equal to the sum demanded for the animal. To ascertain this fact was the point at issue, and the learned advocates contrived to puzzle the cause in such a manner, that, after a hearing of three days, the court broke up without coming to any determination upon it; and a second palaver was, I suppose, thought necessary."

But, notwithstanding this genius for litigation, Park found the Mandingoes a mild and well disposed race; and his favourable idea of their character was confirmed by his future intercourse with them in his journey into the interior, where many of them were to be found carrying on a

successful traffic, and where their language was pretty generally understood.

About the beginning of October, the rainy season, so unhealthy in tropical countries, being now over, our traveller began to prepare for his journey into the interior. He accordingly wrote to Dr Laidley, who was then at Jonkakonda, to ascertain when the first *Kaffila*, or caravan, was to leave Gambia, intending to join it; but on receiving information that this event was uncertain, and understanding farther, that the Slatees generally were averse to his purpose, he resolved to proceed without delay. He accordingly completed his preparations with the assistance of his hospitable entertainer, Dr Laidley, and left Pisania on the 2d of December. He was accompanied by a negro servant, who acted as his interpreter, and a young slave, called Demba, belonging to Dr Laidley. Park had purchased a horse for his own use, and a couple of asses for his interpreter and servant. His baggage consisted chiefly of a small store of provisions, some beads, amber, and tobacco, a few changes of linen, an umbrella, a pocket sextant, a magnetic compass, a thermometer, two fowling pieces, and two pairs of pistols. Before setting out, his party was increased by two Serawoolli traders, a Mahommedan, travelling to Bambarra, and a negro blacksmith, a native of Kasson, who volunteered their company as far as they intended respectively to procee

Dr Laidley, also, with some of his friends and domestics, accompanied him for the first two days of his journey, and then bade him an affectionate farewell, never expecting to see him more.

Park, now entirely thrown upon his own resources, must have reflected, with some anxiety, on the arduous nature of the enterprise in which he was engaged. Hitherto, he had been cheered by the presence and sympathy of his countrymen; men, whose feelings, habits, and prejudices, were in accordance with his own, and who were therefore qualified to appreciate the motives of his journey, and disposed to take an interest in its successful issue: he now found himself alone in a strange and barbarous country, where his religion, language, habits, and even complexion, made him an object of curiosity and suspicion, and might probably expose him to ill usage and open hostility. On the other hand, the novelty of the situation had irresistible charms for an ardent and enterprising spirit, buoyed up with the hope of making new discoveries, and of opening a way for the extension of commerce, and the blessings of civilization, among a people who had hitherto been denied the privileges and almost the name of humanity.

The journey commenced under favourable auspices. At the first village where they slept, the Slatee to whom it belonged thought so highly of the honour done him by Park's

visit, that he presented him with a bullock, which was immediately killed, and part of it prepared for supper. But he soon began to find, that the Africans generally were by no means disposed to act on the principle, that it is more blessed to give than to receive. The very next morning, as he was riding along, meditating on the uncertainties of his situation, he was suddenly roused from his reverie by a troop of people, who came running up to him, and, having stopped the asses, insisted on his returning with them to pay his respects, and the usual customs, to the King of Walli. It was in vain that he told them, that as traffic was not the object of his journey, he ought not to be subjected to a tax like the native traders : they turned a deaf ear to his reasonings ; and, as they were more numerous than his attendants, and extremely clamorous, he found it prudent to satisfy their demands by giving them four bars * of tobacco for the king's use ; after which he was permitted to proceed upon his journey. On the following day he passed Kootacunda, the last town of Walli ; and next day, at noon, arrived at Medina, the capital of the King of Woollis's dominions. This king-

* A *bar* is properly a bar of iron of a certain weight, used in Africa as a standard of value, and thus the term applied to rum, tobacco, &c. means a quantity of that particular commodity equal in *value* to a bar of iron. A bar of any kind of merchandise is equal to about two *shillings sterling*.

dom is not of great extent, but the soil is fertile, and the general appearance of the country agreeable, rising occasionally into gentle acclivities, which are richly wooded, and containing many thriving villages in the intermediate valleys. The inhabitants are Mandingoes, and are divided into two great sects, the Mahommedans, or *Bushreens*, and the *Kafirs*, or unbelievers. The Kafir, or Pagan, population is the more numerous, and they have the government in their own hands. The capital, Medina, Park describes as being a place of considerable extent, containing nearly one thousand houses, and it is fortified, after the African fashion, with mud walls, and an outward fence of pointed stakes. Here he was very favourably received by king Jatta, a venerable old man, of whom honourable mention had been made by a former traveller, Major Houghton. Park found him seated on a mat before the door of his hut, while a number of men and women, arranged on each side of him, were singing and clapping their hands. The traveller, having been previously warned that he must not presume to shake hands with him, this being deemed too great a liberty for strangers, saluted him respectfully, and requested permission to pass through his territories to Bondou. The aged monarch graciously replied, that he not only granted this permission, but would also offer up prayers for his safety. In return for this mark of royal

condescension, one of Park's sable attendants began to sing, or rather to roar, an Arabic song, at every pause of which the king himself, and all the people present, struck their hands against their foreheads, and, with devout and affecting solemnity, joined in a harmonious *amen*. The king farther told him that he would provide him with a guide, who should conduct him safely to the frontier of his kingdom. Such was the character of Park's first introduction at an African court, and his reception was sufficiently favourable to encourage him in the hope that he should encounter no insuperable obstacle to his progress from the native princes. In the evening he sent king Jatta an order on Dr Laidley for three gallons of rum, and, in return, received a present of provisions.

Park had now frequent opportunities of studying the African character, both in the behaviour of his attendants and in the manners of the villagers, with whom he daily came in contact. He found the natives, upon the whole, mild, hospitable, and gay hearted, but ridiculously attached to every species of superstitious observance which their own fears, or the cunning of their priests, could invent. Charms, or amulets, called *saphies*, were every where in great request. These consisted merely of a verse from the Koran, written on a scrap of paper, and worn as a charm against the bite of serpents, the arrows of the enemy, bodily

disease, and all kinds of evil fortune. Park himself had afterwards, in circumstances of extreme distress, occasion to avail himself of the credulity of the natives in this respect ; and, no doubt, had he been unprincipled enough to follow it as a profession, he might have realized a little fortune by the practice ; for in all parts of Africa the *saphies* of a white man are held in special estimation. To their dread of supernatural evils, and their anxiety to guard against them by superstitious observances and idle charms, stands forth in favourable relief that love of dance and song, and social festivity, by which the negro character is particularly distinguished. An eminent poet of our own country is said to have performed the tour of Europe with no other means of supporting himself than he derived from his German flute. It is probable, that the same instrument would have secured for him a still more hospitable reception among the light hearted natives of Africa, who are passionately fond of music, and ever ready to obey its joyful summons. Even the slave, smarting from the lash, or bowed down with the burden imposed by his unfeeling task-master, forgets his pain, and shakes off his weariness when he sees preparations made for his favourite dance. A musician is, at all times, a welcome guest in a village, and his arrival is invariably the signal of a holyday to young and old. The *singing man*, too, is a personage of great importance, and his

office is deemed of much dignity in the court every petty prince. It is true, he often fills the offices of court jester, genealogist, and story teller *in commendam* with his avowed calling, and, like other great pluralists, he may derive no small part of his importance from this unconscionable monopoly. In none of his capacities, however, can he be said to hold a sinecure: on the contrary, he has to keep his various talents in constant exercise for the amusement of his master and his court, which, in Africa, generally implies all of his subjects who may choose to approach, or who can find room to squeeze themselves into, the royal hut. Story telling, in particular, is a favourite amusement among the Negroes; and Park's attendants frequently enlivened a weary march, or relieved the hour while they were cooking their provisions, with tales, which sometimes reminded him of those which have such charms for childhood in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, though he describes them as being generally of a more ludicrous cast. Perhaps they were not unfrequently used, as in more civilized countries, for the purpose of conveying a moral, or as a vehicle for malicious wit and satire. To this latter class seems to belong the following, which Park quotes as an abridged specimen of African story telling:—

“ Many years ago (said the relator,) the people of Doomasansa (a town on the Gambia) were

much annoyed by a lion, that came every night, and took away some of their cattle. By continuing his depredations, the people were at length so much enraged, that a party of them resolved to go and hunt the monster. They accordingly proceeded in search of the common enemy, which they found concealed in a thicket; and immediately firing at him, were lucky enough to wound him in such a manner, that, in springing from the thicket towards the people, he fell down among the grass, and was unable to rise. The animal, however, manifested such appearance of vigour, that nobody cared to approach him singly; and a consultation was held, concerning the properest means of taking him alive; a circumstance, it was said, which, while it furnished undeniable proof of their prowess, would turn out to great advantage, it being resolved to convey him to the coast, and sell him to the Europeans. While some persons proposed one plan, and some another, an old man offered a scheme. This was to strip the roof of a house of its thatch, and to carry the bamboo frame, (the pieces of which are well secured together by thongs,) and throw it over the lion. If, in approaching him, he should attempt to spring upon them, they had nothing to do but to let down the roof upon themselves, and fire at the lion through the rafters.

“ This proposition was approved and adopted. The thatch was taken from the roof of a hut, and the lion-hunters, supporting the fabric, marched

courageously to the field of battle ; each person carrying a gun in one hand, and bearing his share of the roof on the opposite shoulder. In this manner they approached the enemy ; but the beast had by this time recovered his strength ; and such was the fierceness of his countenance, that the hunters, instead of proceeding any farther, thought it prudent to provide for their own safety, by covering themselves with the roof. Unfortunately, the lion was too nimble for them : for, making a spring while the house was setting down, both the beast and his pursuers were caught in the same cage, and the lion devoured them at his leisure, to the astonishment and mortification of the people of Doomasansa ; at which place it is dangerous, even at this day, to tell the story ; for it is become the subject of laughter and derision in the neighbouring countries, and nothing will enrage an inhabitant of that town so much as desiring him to catch a lion alive."

Instead of proceeding due eastward, Park, on leaving Medina, pursued a north-easterly course towards the kingdom of Bondou. Between Woulli and Bondou he had to cross a wilderness of two days' journey. The uncertainty of being able to procure water here obliged him to hire three elephant hunters, who should act in the double capacity of guides and water carriers. Before leaving Koojar, the frontier town of Woulli, he was invited by the inhabitants to be present at a *wrestling* match, or *neobering*, as it is called, a

favourite exhibition among the Mandingoes. The spectators arranged themselves in a circle, leaving the intermediate space for the wrestlers, who were active young men, accustomed from their infancy to this exercise. They were stripped of their clothing, with the exception of a short pair of drawers, and, having anointed their skins with oil, or *shea* butter,* they crept forward on all fours, occasionally extending a hand, and parrying an attack, till at length one of them sprang forward and caught his rival by the knee. There was now some scope for the display of dexterity and judgment, but the contest was generally decided by superior strength; and Park, who, as a Scottish Borderer, was well qualified to judge of this manly exercise, gives it as his opinion, that few Europeans would have been able to cope with the conqueror. The combatants were animated by the music of a drum, and the contest, which was seldom attended with any more serious consequences than a few bruises, uniformly ended in the spectators joining in a dance. The sports of Woilli present a favourable contrast to the brutal practice of boxing and gouging, which Captain Clapperton describes as prevalent in Bornou, where it is always attended with mutilation and loss of life.†

* A species of butter, expressed from the nut of the Shea tree.

† See *Denham and Clapperton's Travels*.

Having traversed the intermediate wilderness between Woolli and Bondou, where his attendants were under continual apprehension of being attacked by banditti, Park arrived at Tallika, the frontier town of the latter, which is chiefly inhabited by wealthy Foulahs, professing the Mahommedan religion. Here he took up his residence with the officer appointed by the King of Bondou to watch the arrival of caravans, and engaged him, by the promise of five bars, to accompany him to Fatteconda, the capital. Here, also, he had an opportunity of writing to his friend, Dr Laidley, by the master of a Kaffila, bound for the Gambia. On the following day his Serawoolli fellow travellers took leave of him with many prayers for his safety; and the same evening he arrived at a village where his companion, the blacksmith, had some relations, where he rested for two days. On resuming their journey they experienced some delay in consequence of one of the asses proving refractory. This threatened to be a serious inconvenience; but the Negroes soon rendered him tractable by a very curious though simple method. Having cut a forked stick, they put the forked part into the animal's mouth like the bit of a bridle, and then tied the smaller parts above his head, leaving the lower portion of sufficient length to strike against the ground if he should attempt to put his head down. This proved effectual: the ass,

after a little practice, took care to hold his head sufficiently high to prevent the stick from striking against the stones or roots of trees, which experience taught him would give a severe shock to his teeth. This contrivance produced a ludicrous appearance, but its good effects were apparent, and it was very generally adopted by the native traders, asses being in Africa almost exclusively used for the conveyance of goods.

As he proceeded on his journey, the traveller began to suffer severely from that system of pillage and shameless begging which prevails over the whole of Africa. The gentler sex particularly distinguished themselves by their vehement importunities, and sometimes by proceeding to open violence, tearing away such portions of his garments as suited their fancy, and cutting the metal buttons from his boy's clothes. At Buggel a hasty flight was his only means of protecting his property from the hands of these fair despoilers. Crossing the Faleme river, he came to a village, where he met with a Moorish shereef who had seen Major Houghton, and from whom he received some intelligence of the fate of that unfortunate traveller; in return for which Park gave him a few sheets of paper, which he had greatly coveted for the purpose of writing *saphies*. On the same day he entered Fatteconda, the capital of Bondou. His arrival was no sooner known than he received a message to attend at

court ; and, as he had heard very unfavourable accounts of the King of Bondou, especially in regard to his treatment of Major Houghton, he deemed it prudent to pave his way to royal favour by a present of some gunpowder, amber, tobacco, and his umbrella. He also took the precaution of wearing his best blue coat, to save it in case his baggage should be searched. The king received him very graciously, and expressed much satisfaction with the present made to him. He was at first very incredulous about the professed object of the stranger's journey, but on the latter expressing his readiness to subject his baggage to inspection, he was satisfied. When Park was about to take leave, the king stopped him, and began a long preamble in praise of white men, extolling their great wealth and good dispositions. He next proceeded to an eulogium on the traveller's blue coat, admiring particularly the yellow buttons, and ended by entreating Park to make him a present of it, assuring him, for his consolation under its loss, that he himself would wear it on all public occasions, and inform all who saw it of the donor's liberality to him. Park, wisely foreseeing that the royal beggar would probably make no scruple of obtaining by force what he was willing to receive as a gift, made a virtue of necessity, and laid his coat at his majesty's feet. In return, he received a great quantity of provisions, and many civilities from the delighted prince. He v

afterwards admitted into the seraglio, the king's women having expressed great curiosity to see him. They were in number about ten or twelve, most of them young and handsome, and wearing ornaments of gold and amber. They rallied him, with much gayety and good humour, on the whiteness of his skin and the prominence of his nose, insisting that both were artificial; the former produced when he was an infant by dipping him in milk; and, with regard to the latter, they supposed it had been pinched every day till it had acquired its present unnatural and unsightly conformation. Park, in return to these observations, paid them compliments on African beauty, praising the glossy jet of their skins, and the seemliness of their flat noses; but they told him that *honey mouth* (flattery) was not esteemed in Bondou. They, however, presented him with a jar of honey and some fish, and he thought he could perceive that flattery was not at all unacceptable to these sable beauties any more than to the rest of their sex. At parting, the king gave him five drachms of gold, not so much, as he observed, for the value of the present, as in token of friendship, and added the farther civility of declining to examine his baggage.

After leaving Fatteconda, it was found necessary to continue their journey only by night, the country between that and the kingdom of Kajaaga being so noted for its inhospitality, as to make

travelling in open day extremely dangerous. **Kajaaga**, or, as it is called by the French, Gallam, is inhabited by Serawoollies, a race of men very different from the Mandingoes and Foulahs, through whose country Park's route had hitherto lain. The latter are rather tawny than black, and, in many respects, closely resemble the Moors; the Serawoollies are jet black, and, in all respects, are identified with the Negro aborigines. They are a trading people, and in their intercourse with Europeans have maintained a better character for fair dealing than their countrymen on the Gambia. At Joag, the frontier town of Kajaaga, Park was hospitably entertained by the *Dooty*,* the title given in the negro countries to the chief man of a town or village. In the course of the night, however, he was disturbed by the arrival of a number of horsemen. These were sent by the king to seize the white man and his companions who had entered the Serawoollie territories, and carry them by force to Maana, the capital, on the pretence that they had not paid the usual customs. This threatened to be a very unpleasant affair, as the messengers were disposed to proceed to violence in executing their orders, and Park was equally resolved not to accede to their proposals, both on his own account, and for the sake of his companion, the blacksmith from

* Sometimes called *Alkaid*.

Kasson, who had reason to fear that he would be detained and made a slave by the King of Sera-woolli, between whom and the sovereign of his own country war was on the point of breaking out. It therefore required all his prudence to extricate him from the difficulty, and he at length succeeded, by a judicious mixture of resistance and partial compliance, in getting rid of his troublesome visitors, but not till they had robbed him of half of his goods.

He was now reduced to a very precarious state. His fellow travellers laughed at the idea of his continuing his journey without money; and the treatment he had just experienced gave him no very favourable idea of what he was to expect for the future. But his feelings of despondency were relieved by one of those affecting instances of humanity which fortunately are not confined to any particular complexion or any grade of civilization. He was sitting, towards evening, on the *bentang*, or stage, which in African towns serves the purpose of a town hall, chewing straws, when an old female slave, passing by with a basket on her head, asked him whether he had got any dinner. The necessitous are generally suspicious, and Park, thinking she meant only to laugh at him, gave no answer; but his negro boy, Demba, who was sitting close by, answered for him, and told her that the king's people had robbed his master of all his money. On hearing this, the good old woman, with a look

of unaffected benevolence, took the basket from her head, and shewing him that it contained ground nuts, asked him if he could eat them: on his answering in the affirmative, she presented him with several handfuls, and walked away before he had time to thank her for so seasonable a supply. Park reflected with much satisfaction on this trifling event. It reminded him, that wherever Heaven has bestowed the human form, it has also bestowed the common feelings and sympathies of our nature, however these may be occasionally obscured or deadened by circumstances.

From the unpleasant situation in which he had been placed by the Serawoolli king, he was happily extricated by the arrival of Demba Sego Jalla, nephew to the King of Kasson. This young man had been sent by his uncle on an embassy to the King of Kajaaga, for the purpose of settling some disputes which threatened to end in hostilities between the two countries, but being unsuccessful in his mission, he was now returning home, and offered Park the protection of his company as far as Kasson. The offer was gratefully accepted, and they proceeded without annoyance or interruption till they arrived at Teesee, of which the young envoy's father, Tiggity Sego, was governor.

At Teesee, he had an opportunity of comparing the character and customs of the people of Kasson with those of the countries through which he had

lately passed. In general, they corresponded with those of other Mandingo tribes, but they were tinctured less with Mahommedanism, the Pagan inhabitants still retaining, in a great measure, the manners and customs of their ancestors. A very extraordinary custom, of a local character, prevailed at Teesee, where no woman is permitted to *eat an egg*. "This prohibition," observes Park, "whether arising from ancient superstition, or from the craftiness of some old Bushreen who loved eggs himself, is rigidly adhered to, and nothing will more affront a woman of Teesee than to offer her an egg. The custom is the more singular, as the men eat eggs without scruple in the presence of their wives, and I never observed the same prohibition in any other of the Mandingo countries."

During his stay at this place, he had an opportunity of attending a palaver, held by Tiggity Sego on the following extraordinary occasion:— "A young *Kafir*, or pagan native, of considerable affluence, who had recently married a young and handsome wife, applied to a very devout Bushreen, or Mussulman priest, of his acquaintance, to procure him saphies for his protection during the approaching war. The Bushreen complied with the request; and in order, as he pretended, to render the saphies more efficacious, enjoined the young man to avoid any nuptial intercourse with his bride for the space of six weeks. Severe as

the injunction was, the Kafir strictly obeyed ; and, without telling his wife the real cause, absented himself from her company. In the meantime it began to be whispered at Teesee, that the Bushreen, who always performed his evening devotions at the door of the Kafir's hut, was more intimate with the young wife than he ought to be. At first the good husband was unwilling to suspect the honour of his sanctified friend, and one whole month elapsed before any jealousy rose in his mind ; but hearing the charge repeated, he at last interrogated his wife on the subject, who frankly confessed that the Bushreen had seduced her. Hereupon the Kafir put her into confinement, and called a palaver upon the Bushreen's conduct. The fact was clearly proved against him ; and he was sentenced to be sold into slavery, or to find two slaves for his redemption, according to the pleasure of the complainant. The injured husband, however, was unwilling to proceed against his friend to such extremity, and desired rather to have him publicly flogged before Tiggity Sego's gate. This was agreed to, and the sentence was immediately executed. The culprit was tied by the hands to a strong stake ; and a long black rod being brought forth, the executioner, after flourishing it round his head for some time, applied it with such force and dexterity to the Bushreen's back, as to make him roar until the woods resounded with his scream

The surrounding multitude, by their hooting and laughing, manifested how much they enjoyed the punishment of this old gallant ; and it is worthy of remark, that the number of stripes was precisely the same as are enjoined by the Mosaic law, *forty, save one.*"

Park having lent his horse to Demba Seگو for an excursion which he had occasion to make into the woods after a fugitive slave, remained at Teesee several days, in the course of which he was edified by witnessing one of those wholesale conversions which were so frequent in the countries of Asia during the earlier progress of the Mahommedan creed, and which, it would appear, are still extending its influence in Africa.

"On the 5th of January, an embassy of ten people belonging to Almami Abdulkader, King of Foota Torra, a country to the west of Bondou, arrived at Teesee ; and, desiring Tiggity Seگو to call an assembly of the inhabitants, announced publicly their king's determination to this effect :—
'That unless all the people of Kasson would embrace the Mahommedan religion, and evince their conversion by saying eleven public prayers, he (the King of Foota Torra) could not possibly stand neuter in the present contest, but would certainly join his arms to those of Kajaaga.' A message of this nature, from so powerful a prince, could not fail to create great alarm ; and the inhabitants of Teesee, after a long consultation,

agreed to conform to his good pleasure, humiliating as it was to them. Accordingly, one and all publicly offered up eleven prayers, which were considered a sufficient testimony of their having renounced Paganism, and embraced the doctrines of the Prophet."

During his stay at Teesee, Park was extremely well treated by the governor and his people, and formed an object of general interest to the natives, few of whom had ever seen a white man before. In the end, however, he found that the civilities which he experienced from Tiggity Sego were not altogether disinterested; for, on his preparing to proceed on his journey, he was given broadly to understand, that he must first make a present to the chief; and the articles chosen by him for this purpose being deemed of insufficient value, the chief's son, without scruple, opened the traveller's bundles, and seized upon such articles as pleased his fancy. It was useless to complain; and Park, on collecting the scattered remains of his baggage, found that he was deprived of more than half of what the rapacity of the King of Kajaaga had left him.

Early on the morning of January the 10th, he left Teesee, and next day arrived at Jumbo, the native town of his companion, the blacksmith who had been absent from it for four years. Their reception here was friendly in the extreme. They were met without the town by the bla

smith's relations, accompanied by a singing man, who began an extempore song, extolling the courage of his townsman in having surmounted so many difficulties, and concluding with a strict injunction to his friends to dress him plenty of victuals,—feasting, it would appear, being a theme not less grateful to the minstrels of Africa than to our own northern poets, a coincidence which affords a sort of presumption that starvation and the muse maintain a strict alliance all over the globe. During the first transports of joyful recognition between the blacksmith and his former acquaintances, Park was entirely overlooked; but when his travelling companion, in the course of narrating his own adventures, expressed a deep feeling of obligation to the white man, and ended by pointing to the place where Park sat, exclaiming, *Affille ibi siring*, “See him sitting there,” in a moment all eyes were turned upon the stranger. He appeared to them like a being just dropped from the clouds; and many of them, especially among the women and children, expressed their uneasiness at being so near a creature of such uncommon appearance. They soon, however, became reconciled to the sight, and treated him with extraordinary kindness and respect during the two days that he remained with them.

Proceeding on his journey, he diverged a little from the direct road to Kooniakary, for the

purpose of visiting a Slatee,* on whom he had an order, from Dr Laidley, for the value of five slaves, and by whom he was hospitably entertained at his village of Soolo. Here he was visited by the King of Kasson's second son, who came with a party of horse to conduct him to Koönia-kary, the king having expressed his impatience to see him.

King Demba Segó Jalla received him with great kindness, graciously accepted the very trifling present which was all that he could make up out of the wreck of his effects, and sent him in return a large *white* bullock, which in Africa is considered a special mark of favour. But Park's satisfaction at so kind a reception was somewhat damped by the intelligence which he received from the king as to the present state of Kasson and the neighbouring countries, through which he had proposed to continue his journey. War was on the point of breaking out between Kasson and Kajaaga; Kaarta, the next kingdom through which his route lay, was involved in the issue, and was also threatened with hostilities on the part of Bambarra. The king, therefore, earnestly advised him to remain at Kooniakary till the return of messengers whom he had sent to Kaarta to obtain intelligence of the designs of the Bambarrans. To this he consented; and, in the

* A free black merchant.

meanwhile, took up his residence with the Slatee of Soolo. From him he received the value of three slaves in gold dust : a seasonable supply in his present circumstances, and which, it was probable, would be the last which he could receive till his return to the Gambia. He had, however, once more to submit to extortion ; for the king's son, Sambo Segó, having heard that he had received a sum of gold from the Slatee, visited him with a party of horsemen, insisting on receiving one half as due to the king ; and it was not without difficulty, and the interference of the Slatee himself, that the young prince was prevailed on to accept sixteen bars of European merchandise, with some powder and ball, in lieu of all demands that could be made upon the traveller while in the kingdom of Kasson.

On the 1st of February, the messengers arrived from Kaarta with the intelligence that hostilities had not yet commenced in that country ; and Park, understanding that he might possibly pass through it before the arrival of the Bambarran army, immediately took leave of his kind host, the Gambia Slatee, and bidding an affectionate adieu to his old fellow traveller, the blacksmith, who had, with friendly solicitude, followed him to Kooniakary, proceeded on his journey, accompanied by two horsemen, whom the king of Kasson had appointed as his guides to Kaarta. Having crossed the frontier of this

kingdom, he found the minds of the inhabitants already filled with that terror and consternation which the near prospect of an invasion usually creates. His arrival at Kemmoo, the capital of Kaarta, excited the same interest with which his appearance was now attended in all the great towns. His lodging, notwithstanding the king's positive orders that he should not be incommoded, was filled not fewer than thirteen times, with a succession of visitors, all anxious to obtain a sight of the white man, each party, when its curiosity was satisfied, making way for a new company. The King, Daisy Koorabbarri, shewed him great kindness, but confessed his present inability to protect him farther than by granting him a free passage through his own territories. He therefore advised him to return to Kasson till the war was ended, when if he, King Daisy, was alive, he would be glad to see him, and forward his views; and, if he was dead, his sons would take care of him. This well meant advice Park felt himself obliged to reject, as the hot months were now approaching, and he dreaded the thought of spending the rainy season in the interior of Africa. At the same time, he was unwilling to fall into the hands of the Bambarran troops, who had already entered Kaarta by the way of Fooladoo: he therefore adopted the circuitous route, suggested by King Daisy, of entering Bambarra through the Moorish kingdom

Ludamar; an unfortunate resolution, which he afterwards had reason deeply to lament.

The war between the sovereigns of Kaarta and Bambarra, which thus interfered with the original plan of Park's journey, arose, like many wars among more civilized nations, from very trifling misunderstandings, carefully aggravated to serve the purposes of a restless ambition. The following circumstance furnished the immediate ostensible ground of commencing hostilities. A few bullocks had been stolen from a frontier village of Bambarra by a party of Moors, and were sold to the Dooty of a town in Kaarta. The people from whom the cattle were stolen, applied to the purchaser for the restoration of their property, and, on his refusal, carried their complaints to their own sovereign. The King of Bambarra readily availed himself of so fair a pretext for humbling a neighbour, whose growing prosperity and power he had long viewed with an eye of jealousy. Accordingly, without any attempt at obtaining an amicable arrangement of the affair, he sent a messenger and a party of horsemen to King Daisy to inform him, that it was the intention of the King of Bambarra to visit Kemmoo, in the course of the succeeding dry season, with nine thousand men: he therefore desired him to direct his slaves to sweep the houses, and have every thing ready for the accommodation of himself and his company. Such, it seems, is the

polite mode of declaring hostilities among negro potentates. The messenger was farther charged to present the King of Kaarta with a pair of *iron sandals*, at the same time giving him to understand, that "until such time as Daisy had worn these sandals in his flight, he should never be secure from the arrows of Bambarra." To this insulting message, the Kaartan prince returned a bold defiance; and, having consulted with his chief councillors about the best means of meeting the threatened invasion, he made a Bushreen write, in Arabic, on a piece of thin board, a sort of proclamation, which he afterwards caused to be suspended to a tree in the public square, while several aged men were sent to different places to explain its meaning to the people. This royal proclamation called upon the Kaartans to rally around their king without delay: at the same time, it gave full permission to such as had no arms, or who were afraid to join in the war, to retire into any of the neighbouring kingdoms. It was added, that on condition of their observing a strict neutrality, they should always be welcome to return to their homes; but if they took any active part against their country, they had then, in the striking language of the proclamation, "broken the key of their huts, and could never afterwards enter the door."

The Kaartans generally responded to the call of their sovereign, and entered with enthusiasm

into the spirit of the war; but some powerful tribes took advantage of the indulgent clause, and withdrew, with their effects, to Ludamar and Kasson. In consequence of this defection, Daisy's force was numerically much weaker than that of his rival, Mansong, so that he was compelled to act entirely on the defensive. He, accordingly, shut himself up in the town of Gedingooma, which he had strongly fortified, and where he waited patiently till the King of Bambarra should find himself compelled to raise the siege and return to his own country, which actually happened some months after. But we have no intention of recording the events of this war farther than they happen to have had an influence on the motions of Park, who found himself compelled, by the advance of Mansong, to hasten his departure from Kaarta, and change his intended route for one more circuitous, and, as it proved, not less dangerous.

Having taken leave of the King, to whom he made a present of his horse-pistols and holsters, in acknowledgment of the kind treatment which he had experienced from him, he departed from Kemmoo with eight horsemen, whom Daisy had appointed to escort him to Jarra, the frontier town of Ludamar. On the way, he stopped for a night at a considerable town, called Funingkedy, where he was hospitably entertained by a Gambia Slatee. While

there, he had an opportunity of witnessing the insolence of the Moors, whose territories he was about to visit. Though their chief was at peace with the inhabitants, these fierce bandits were in the frequent habit of making predatory incursions into Kaarta; and, upon the present occasion, some half dozen horsemen had the audacity to carry off, under the very walls of the town, sixteen fine bullocks, while the inhabitants of Funingkedy, to the number of five hundred, stood idly looking on, scarcely out of pistol shot of the marauders.

Shortly after the Moors had disappeared, Park observed a number of people approaching the town with a young man, whom they supported on horseback. This was one of the herdsmen, who, with more courage than the rest, had attempted to throw his spear, and was wounded by a shot, fired by one of the Moors. His mother, frantic with grief, was walking before him, clapping her hands, and enumerating all his good qualities. "*Ee maffo fonio,*" said the disconsolate mother, as they carried her wounded son in at the gate, "*Ee maffo fonio, abada,*" (I never told a lie; he never told a lie—no, never). When the young man was conveyed to his hut, and laid on a mat, all the spectators joined in lamenting his fate with piteous screams and howlings. Park, having been requested to examine the wound, found that the bal-

passed quite through the leg, and fractured both bones a little below the knee; the poor fellow was besides so faint from loss of blood, that his situation seemed to Park extremely precarious. However, to give him the only chance of recovery, he observed, that it would be necessary to amputate above the knee; but the proposal was heard with such marks of horror on the part of the bystanders, that he soon perceived it would not be acceded to. They had never heard of such a method of cure; and it was evident, that they regarded the humane proposer of the operation as a sort of cannibal, who delighted in inflicting pain, and who would probably not scruple, after cutting off the broken limb, to carry it home with him for his supper. The patient was, therefore, transferred at once to the care of some old Bushreens, who endeavoured to secure him a passage into paradise by whispering into his ear certain Arabic sentences, which they desired him to repeat. After many unsuccessful attempts, the poor ignorant heathen at last contrived to pronounce the Mussulman confession of faith, *La illah el allah, Mahomet rasoul allahi*, (there is no God but God, and Mahomet is God's prophet,) when the delighted Bushreens assured his mother that her son had given sufficient evidence of his faith, and would undoubtedly be happy in a future state. The young man died in the course of the same afternoon.

In order to avoid the Moorish banditti, by whom he understood all the roads in the neighbourhood of Funingkey were then terribly infested, and of whose exploits he had no desire to be a farther witness, he adopted the precaution of travelling by night, and next morning arrived in safety at Simbing, the frontier town of Ludamar, and which is distant only a few miles from Jarra, the capital. It was from Simbing that Major Houghton dated his last letter to Dr Laidley, written with pencil, previous to his unfortunate advance into the Moorish territory, where he perished through the treachery of that perfidious and cruel people. By what Park was able to collect from information received both here and at Jarra, it appears that his ill-fated predecessor had been decoyed northward to the Great Desert by some Moorish merchants, who robbed him of all he possessed, and afterwards left him to perish of hunger. Park was shewn the spot where his unfortunate countryman was left to perish.

On his arrival at Jarra, Park obtained a lodging in the house of a Gambia Slattee, on whom he had an order from Dr Laidley for the value of six slaves. His host, Daman Jumma, readily acknowledged the debt, though of five years' standing, but was unable to pay more than the value of two slaves. From the unsettled state of the country, and from the accounts he had every-

where received of the savage and insolent behaviour of the Moors, in whose country he now was, Park saw that the only chance of his being able to proceed in safety, was to secure the protection of the Moorish chief, Ali, who was then in his camp at Benowm, watching the events of the war between the sovereign of Bambarra and the King of Kaarta. He accordingly despatched a messenger, with some presents, to that chief, requesting that he might be permitted to travel through his country unmolested. In about a fortnight after, one of Ali's slaves arrived with orders, as he said, to conduct him to Goomba. His servant, Johnson, alarmed by what he had already seen of the Moors, and still more by what he had heard of their cruelty, refused to follow him any farther; Park accordingly delivered to him most of his papers, to be conveyed, as soon as possible, to the Gambia; and, accompanied by his faithful boy Demba, who refused to forsake him, proceeded with his guide. At Deena, Ali's slave left him, and returned to Benowm. With no other companion besides his faithful boy, he continued his route towards Goomba, and had arrived within two days' journey of that town, where he should be beyond the power of the Moors, when his farther progress was interrupted by the arrival of a party of horsemen, sent by Ali, with orders to convey him to the camp at Benowm. This blow he felt the

more severely, as he had just begun to flatter himself that all danger from the Moors was now over, and fancy had already placed him on the banks of the Niger, where he expected to pursue his farther progress without fear or interruption, when the appearance of Ali's horsemen so unpleasantly roused him from his happy dream. They told him, however, that he had nothing to fear, and gave as the reason of their visit, the earnest desire of Fatima, Ali's favourite wife, to see a Christian; her curiosity being satisfied, they had no doubt, they said, that Ali would dismiss the traveller with a present, and give him a guide to Bambarra. The unfortunate traveller had no alternative; he, therefore, saw himself compelled to retrace his former route by Sampaka and Delma. At this latter place, he had an interview with one of Ali's sons, who wished him to repair an old double-barrelled gun, and, on his professing ignorance of the art, insisted on his giving him some knives and scissors. With this request, also, he was unable to comply; upon which, the young barbarian, falling into a passion, snatched up a musket that stood by him, and was on the point of shooting Park's boy Demba, who acted as interpreter during the interview, had not some of the Moors interfered, and made signs for the strangers to retreat. This little incident was not calculated to diminish the reluctance with which Park contemplated his visit to the Moorish camp.

In traversing the sandy desert between Deena and Benowm, he suffered greatly from thirst, and was obliged to make use of gum, a small bit of which, kept in the mouth, was found to be no bad succedaneum for water, as it kept the mouth moist, and allayed the irritation in the throat.

On his arrival at the Moorish camp of Benowm, he was introduced into the tent of Ali, where he found a large assemblage of men and women, brought together by curiosity, to see that strange animal, a Christian. They were very inquisitive, especially the ladies, asking a thousand questions, inspecting every part of his dress, obliging him to unbutton his waistcoat, that they might see his white skin, and counting the number of his toes and fingers, that they might have some assurance of his being in reality a human being. But after their troublesome curiosity was satisfied, they began to treat him with every indignity which could mark their bigoted dislike of his colour and creed. Ali, himself, sanctioned the insolence of his attendants, by ordering a wild hog to be tied to one of the posts of the hut which he had assigned him for a lodging, thus marking his contempt for the pork-eating Christian. But even the presence of this disagreeable fellow lodger, held in abhorrence by all Mussulmen, did not prevent his levee from being crowded, from morning to night, by visitors still more disagreeable. "It is impossible for me," says Park,

speaking of the daily insults to which he was exposed, "to describe the behaviour of a people who study mischief as a science, and exult in the miseries and misfortunes of their fellow-creatures. It is sufficient to observe, that the rudeness, ferocity, and fanaticism, which distinguish the Moors from the rest of mankind, found here a proper subject whereon to exercise their propensities. I was a *stranger*, I was *unprotected*, and I was a *Christian* : each of these circumstances is sufficient to drive every spark of humanity from the heart of a Moor ; but when all of them, as in my case, were combined in the same person, and a suspicion prevailed withal that I had come as a spy into the country, the reader will easily imagine that, in such a situation, I had every thing to fear." In this trying situation, Park conducted himself with his usual prudence ; and to the patient forbearance and calm fortitude with which he bore his ill treatment, he probably owes the preservation of his life. From sunrise to sunset, he was, to use his own expression, obliged to suffer, with an unruffled countenance, the insults of the rudest savages on earth.

From the first moment of his entering *A* camp, he considered himself a prisoner, and found that he was regarded in this character. *Ali* and his followers, notwithstanding some show of attention to his personal accommodations, He was soon given to understand that he

expected to make himself useful, and was actually ordered to act as barber to the young prince of Ludamar ; but having had the good fortune, in his awkward debut in his new capacity, to make a slight incision in the boy's head, he was summarily discharged as incompetent. Ali, soon after, gave him a friendly hint, that as there were many thieves in the neighbourhood, it would be proper to intrust the whole of his baggage to his highness's care ; a hint with which he, of course, deemed it prudent to comply. Being somewhat disappointed at the trifling value of the traveller's effects, the tyrant sent some of his people to search his person, in executing which commission, they stripped him of all his gold and amber, together with his watch, and one of his pocket compasses ; the other he had fortunately, the night before, buried in the sand. Park's instruments, and some other articles found among his baggage, excited the curiosity of Ali ; but both he and his attendants were particularly puzzled with the compass. The Moorish chief was very desirous to be informed why that small bit of iron, the needle, always pointed to the Great Desert. Park, knowing that a profession of ignorance, or any attempt to explain the true cause, would, among those jealous barbarians, only tend to create a suspicion that he wished to impose on them, accommodated himself to their own superstitious prejudices, and said, that his mother

resided far beyond the sands of Sahaara, and that, whilst she was alive, the piece of iron would always point the same way, and serve as a guide to conduct him to her, and that if she was dead, it would point to her grave. Ali now looked at the compass with increased veneration, and turned it round repeatedly ; but, observing that it always pointed the same way, he held it with great caution, evidently shewing that he thought it connected with magic, and was afraid to keep so dangerous an instrument in his possession.

Some days after, a council was held, in which it was proposed to put the stranger to death ; others were for the milder punishment of cutting off his right hand ; but the general opinion was in favour of a proposal, made by Ali's brother, that both his eyes should be put out,—a sentence which Ali delayed putting into execution only till Queen Fatima, who was then in the north, should have seen him. With the wish to ascertain directly Ali's intentions with regard to him, he now again requested permission to proceed on his journey, but his request was flatly refused, on the plea that the queen had not yet seen him ; but he received a promise, that, after her arrival, he would be permitted to depart. To add to his vexation, he suffered a smart attack of fever : he had also the mortification to discover that his motions were closely watched, and that the soldiers had orders to shoot him if he should be found attempting his escape, or even

seen without the skirts of the camp. Under these circumstances, it was no easy matter to preserve his temper and good spirits, yet his only chance of safety consisted in his not giving way to feelings of irritation or despair. A trifling incident, which he himself has recorded, deserves to be mentioned as a proof of magnanimity and even gayety of heart which few men could have exhibited under so many aggravations of insult and oppression.

“ The curiosity of the Moorish ladies had been very troublesome to me ever since my arrival at Benowm ; and on the evening of the 25th (whether from the instigation of others, or impelled by their own ungovernable curiosity, or merely out of frolic, I cannot affirm,) a party of them came into my hut, and gave me plainly to understand that the object of their visit was to ascertain, by actual inspection, whether the rite of circumcision extended to the Nazarenes, (Christians,) as well as to the followers of Mahomet. The reader will easily judge of my surprise at this unexpected declaration ; and in order to avoid the proposed scrutiny, I thought it best to treat the business jocularly. I observed to them, that it was not customary in my country to give ocular demonstration in such cases, before so many beautiful women ; but that if all of them would retire, except the young lady to whom I pointed, (selecting the youngest and handsomest,) I would

satisfy her curiosity. The ladies enjoyed the jest, and went away, laughing heartily ; and the young damsel herself to whom I had given the preference, (though she did not avail herself of the privilege of inspection,) seemed no way displeased at the compliment ; for she soon afterwards sent me some meal and milk for my supper."

Indeed, the only alleviation of Park's sufferings, while in the camp of the tyrant Ali, appears to have proceeded from the compassionate benevolence of the gentler sex, though their kindness was sometimes manifested in a way more flattering than agreeable, of which the following instance may be quoted as a proof. One evening, when he had retired to his hut, where he was sitting half asleep, an old woman, who had been attending a wedding, entered with a wooden bowl in her hand, and signified that she had brought a present from the bride. Before he had recovered from his surprise at this kind message, the old woman discharged the contents of the bowl full in his face. " Finding that it was the same sort of holy water with which, among the Hottentots, a priest is said to sprinkle a new married couple, I began to suspect that the old lady was actuated by mischief or malice ; but she gave me to understand, that it was a nuptial benediction from the bride's own person ; and which, on such occasions, is always received by the young unmarried Moors as a mark of distinguished favour. This being

the case, I wiped my face, and sent my acknowledgments to the lady."

A month had now elapsed since his captivity had commenced, and this happening to be the Rhamadan, or Mahommedan Lent, he was half starved in addition to his other sufferings. To beguile the time, he began to study Arabic; and, when he observed any of his tyrants whose countenance bore particular marks of malice towards him, he made it a rule to ask him either to write in that language in the sand, or to decypher what he himself had already written; an ingenious device, by which he generally succeeded in conciliating an enemy, while he was, at the same time, making an important addition to his own qualifications as an African traveller. He also obtained some information concerning his proposed route from a trader in salt, from the kingdom of Biroo, who visited Ali's tent with some of that, in central Africa, scarce and valuable commodity. But the cruelty of Ali scarcely left him any hope of being now able to avail himself of any information on the subject which was still next his heart; when an event took place which promised him a chance of escape.

Mansong, King of Bambarra, in the course of the war which he was carrying on in Kaarta, had occasion to send to Ali, with whom he had previously formed an alliance, for a party of horse, to assist in storming the strong town of

Gedingooma, already mentioned as that in which Daisy had shut himself up. The Moorish chief not only refused to fulfil his engagement, but even treated the messengers of his ally with contempt; which so provoked Mansong that he immediately raised the siege, and, transferring the war from Kaarta to Ludamar, prepared to chastise Ali for his breach of faith. His intention was, by a rapid march, to surprise the camp at Benowm; but the Moors, having received intelligence of the Bambarrans having crossed the frontier, decamped next morning at daybreak, and retreated northward, carrying along with them their cattle, their women, and their tents, which constituted all the property of these robbers by profession. The King of Bambarra, finding his plan of chastising his treacherous ally thus effectually defeated, returned with his army to Sego.

During the hurry and confusion of the march from Benowm, the unfortunate traveller suffered his full share of fatigue and hardship; but, on his arrival at the new camp, near Bubaker, he was received by Ali, to whom he took care to pay his respects without delay, with more civility than he had hitherto experienced. The king shook hands with him, and presented him to Queen Fatima, whose unfortunate curiosity to see a white man had been the alleged cause of his captivity. This lady, whose chief claim to beauty

appears to have consisted in her excessive corpulency, was at first a little shocked at finding herself in the actual presence of so extraordinary a monster; but she afterwards overcame her repugnance so far as to enter into conversation with him by means of a Negro interpreter, who understood Mandingo and Arabic, and she concluded the interview by presenting him with a bowl of milk, which he considered as a favourable omen of his future good treatment. In this expectation he was not altogether disappointed; yet he continued to suffer much from thirst, there being a great scarcity of water in the camp. So intense were his sufferings in this respect, that they gave a general character to his dreams; for no sooner did he resign himself to slumber than fancy conveyed him to the fresh streams and glorious rivers of his native land, where he wandered, delighted, on the green banks, or stooped eagerly to swallow the delicious draught, when, suddenly awakened by disappointment, he looked up, and found himself "a lonely captive, perishing of thirst amidst the wilds of Africa!"

The extent of Park's sufferings, while he remained in captivity among the Moors, will best be understood from the permanent impression which it left upon his mind, long after he had recovered his liberty, and even after his return to his own happy home. In the year 1804, when he was on the eve of departing a second

time for Africa, he confessed to his friend Sir Walter Scott, that the horrors of his captivity in the Moorish camp had never ceased to impress his imagination; and that when he was affected with indigestion, a complaint to which, since his return from Africa, he was a good deal subject, and by which his rest was affected, he used often to start from his sleep in great horror, supposing himself still a prisoner in the tents of Ali.*

* See Addenda to *Life of Park*, prefixed to his Journal in 1815, communicated by Sir Walter Scott, p. 157.

CHAPTER III.

Park effects his escape — He suffers greatly from thirst — Character of the Moors — Enters the Negro territory — Negro prejudices in favour of White Men — Discovers the Niger flowing eastward — He arrives at Sego — Conduct of Mansong — He continues his journey to Silla — Adopts the resolution of returning — Difficulties — Sufferings — Subsists by writing saphies — He arrives at Kamalia in a state of great wretchedness — Is hospitably entertained by Karfa Taura — Joins a Kaffla proceeding to the Gambia — Arrives at Pisania — Proceeds to England by the West Indies, and lands at Falmouth.

PARK had now passed three months in this hopeless state of captivity among the Moors, when a favourable change took place in his situation. Some refugees from Kaarta, having entered into a negotiation with Ali, endeavoured to obtain from him the assistance of a party of Moorish horsemen, for an invasion which they were contemplating against their native country. The King of Ludamar thought this a good opportunity of extorting money from these malcontents, and accordingly prepared to go in person with some troops to Jarra, his frontier town on the side of Kaarta. Park, having solicited and obtained the all-powerful intercession of Queen Fatima, was permitted to accompany the expedition, and thus, at length, he felt himself entitled to indulge the confident hope that his captivity was about to

terminate; for, once arrived at Jarra, he had no doubt that he would find means of effecting his escape from the Moorish territories. In this hope he was ultimately not disappointed; but he was yet in the power of Ali, a circumstance which that tyrant took care he should not forget. On their way to Jarra, he deprived the traveller of his faithful and affectionate boy Demba, whom he sent back to the camp, to be there detained as his own slave. This blow Park felt so severely, that he hesitated not to remonstrate with the tyrant, with a warmth and earnestness, both of language and of action, to which that despot was little accustomed, and which provoked him to threaten a similar fate to Park himself, if he did not immediately quit his presence. The indignant Briton confessed that for once he entertained a wish to rid the world of such a monster; but his usual prudence overcame this momentary feeling of indignation, and he hastened to take an affectionate farewell of his unfortunate boy, assuring him, as he saw him led off by three of Ali's slaves, that he would do his utmost to redeem him.

Accordingly, on his arrival at Jarra, he engaged his old acquaintance, Daman Jumma, with whom he now again took up his lodgings, to negotiate with Ali for the boy's release, offering for his ransom a bill on Dr Laidley for the value of two slaves. The offer was peremptorily refused, on the pl

that Demba being Park's chief interpreter, might facilitate his escape to Bambarra; but Ali at the same time agreed to sell him to Daman for his own private use, at the common price of a slave. Park was still attended by Johnson, his black interpreter, who had formerly refused to follow him from Jarra, but who had since been seized by the Moors and carried to their camp. But this man, in whom at best he could put little confidence, again refused to leave Jarra; he was, therefore, obliged to make up his mind, in the event of his being able to effect his escape, either to proceed alone to Bambarra, under all the disadvantages of absolute poverty, and ignorance of the language, or, what he regarded as still worse, of returning to England without having accomplished the object of his mission.

On the 8th of June, Ali left Jarra and returned to his camp, leaving permission for Park to remain with Daman till his return. In the meantime, the Kaartan fugitives finding themselves deceived by Ali, who had hitherto carried on the negotiation for lending them troops, with no other intention than that of extorting from them a large subsidy, and now having attained his object, refused to give them the stipulated assistance, resolved to march into Kaarta with such forces as they could collect among themselves, and hazard a battle with King Daisy, their lawful sovereign. But the King of Kaarta being

informed of their intention, marched to meet his rebellious subjects, forced them to retreat to Jarra, whither he pursued them with a considerable army, and obliged them to seek for safety among the fastnesses of the hilly country to the westward. Park, though he had reason to expect kind treatment from King Daisy, was unwilling to run the risk of being mistaken and put to death for a Moor by irregular troops, flushed with success, and thirsting for the blood of those from whose cruelty and treachery they had suffered so much. He, therefore, accompanied the inhabitants of Jarra in their flight, and arrived on the 28th of June in the village of Queira. Finding himself closely watched by Ali's chief slave and four Moors, from whose conversation his interpreter Johnson discovered that they were sent to convey him back to the Moorish camp, Park at once adopted the resolution of setting off immediately for Bambarra, — all the dangers attending such a journey, however formidable they might previously have appeared, being light in comparison with a renewal of the sufferings which he had experienced in the camp at Benowm. About midnight he got in readiness his wardrobe, which now consisted of two shirts, two pair of trowsers, two pocket handkerchiefs, an upper and under waistcoat, a hat, a pair of half-boots, and a cloak; and about day-break, having ascertained that the Moors were asleep,

he took up his bundle, stepped gently over the negroes who were sleeping in the open air, and mounting his horse, which had previously been restored to him by Ali, rode away in the direction of Bambarra, having first left particular injunctions with Johnson, who refused to proceed any farther, to take charge of the papers with which he had formerly intrusted him, and to remember him to his friends on the Gambia. He for some time advanced with great caution, looking with suspicion at every bush, and apprehensive of again falling into the hands of his tormentors. Nor were his apprehensions altogether groundless, for he had scarcely proceeded a couple of miles from the town, when he was overtaken by three Moors, armed, and on horseback, who threatened to carry him back to Ali. Resistance was useless, and Park with the indifference of despair, prepared to accompany his captors, when they relieved him at once of his anxiety, and of the most valuable part of his baggage, by taking from him his cloak, the only article in his possession which they seemed to care for. They then rode off, leaving the traveller at liberty to pursue his journey in any direction, except that which they themselves took, and which, it may be easily supposed, he felt little inclination to follow.

He soon after recovered the path which he had formerly pursued in his journey from Queira

to Deena, and now, for the first time during four tedious months, he enjoyed that elasticity of soul which the consciousness of freedom was well calculated to impart to one who had been so long deprived of its inestimable blessings. Even the desert looked pleasant in his eyes, because it promised him security from his persecutors, and he cheerfully submitted to the other dangers and privations to which he was subjected in his present dreary pilgrimage. These, however, were of a nature sufficiently formidable to wear out the patience, and exhaust the energies of a mind less enterprising and resolute than that of Park, whose fixed determination was to accomplish the great object of his mission, or to perish in the attempt. Of the sufferings which he now endured, he has given a very affecting detail in his own simple narrative; yet any description can convey but a very inadequate idea of the horrors of his situation, under the accumulation of want and wretchedness to which he was exposed, under the vertical rays of an African sun, and amid the burning sands of a wilderness, whose utter desolation could afford neither sustenance nor shelter to the very fowls of heaven. His chief pain arose from intolerable thirst; and he more than once experienced all the bitterness of death, in this, perhaps, the most dreadful form which the king of terrors can assume. His first object was to avoid being seen by any of the

natives, who might be induced to interrupt his journey, and carry him back to Ali. Whenever, therefore, he found himself near a human habitation, he took a circuitous route, though this was often attended with great inconvenience, and he was thereby exposed to another danger,—that of perishing by hunger and thirst. His course lay through a barren wilderness, nearly east-south-east, in the direction of the kingdom of Bambarra. The pools in this dreary desert, which in the rainy season supplied the herds of the Moors with water, were, all dry, and the herds, with their keepers, had removed to a more favourable station. In vain Park sought for some watering-place, where he might allay his intolerable thirst. His mouth was parched and inflamed; a sudden dimness frequently came over his eyes, and he began seriously to apprehend that he had escaped the tyranny of Ali only that he might perish in this inhospitable desert. To relieve the burning pain in his mouth and throat, he chewed the leaves of different shrubs, but found them all bitter and of little service. Thus passed the first day of his recovered freedom.

About sunset, he reached a gentle eminence, and climbing a high tree, gazed around in the hope of discovering some relief; but the same cheerless uniformity of shrubs and sand every where presented itself, the desert appeared interminable, and the horizon was as level and uninterrupted as

that of a waveless sea. To add to his distress, his horse was now too much fatigued to carry him. His own sufferings had not so hardened his heart as to make him insensible to those of his dumb companion ; and as the last act of humanity which he might ever have it in his power to perform, he relieved the poor brute of his bridle, that he might feed at more liberty, and left him to shift for himself. While engaged in this office of kindness, he was suddenly affected with sickness and giddiness, and falling upon the sand, he thought that surely the hour of death had at last arrived: "Here then," he thought, "after a short but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation: here must the short span of my life terminate." He cast what he believed to be his last look on the surrounding scene of desolation, and whilst he reflected upon the awful change that was about to take place, this world with its enjoyments seemed to vanish from his recollection ; but Heaven had reserved him for farther trials, and for a less inglorious destiny. When he recovered his senses, the sun was setting, and the refreshing coolness of the evening restored him sufficiently to make another effort to prolong an existence, to which he had too much virtue to feel indifferent. He, therefore, again bridled his horse, and driving him before him, proceeded on his journey, at such a pace as his debilitated strength permitted.

As the night advanced he was cheered with perceiving some flashes of lightning from the north-east, — a joyful sight, for it promised rain. But he was again doomed to suffer a bitter, though only momentary disappointment ; for he had no sooner opened his mouth to receive the refreshing drops which he expected, than he was instantly covered, and almost suffocated with a cloud of sand driven with great violence against his face. The lightning, however, still continued, and was soon after succeeded by a plentiful shower of rain, which the traveller caught in his clean clothes, which he had spread out to receive it. Refreshed by this seasonable supply, he continued to advance, though the night was so dark as to make his progress both difficult and dangerous. He at length perceived a light through the trees at some distance, and soon after heard the lowing of cattle, and the clamorous tongues of herdsmen. Delighted as he was at hearing the human voice, he dared not trust himself among these people, whom he rightly guessed to be a party of Moors. In the hope, however, of getting at the wells of this watering place, he inadvertently approached so near to one of the tents, that he was perceived by a female, who screamed aloud, and alarmed the rest of the party, who came running to her assistance ; but the darkness of the night favoured Park's escape, and he hastened again to the woods. He travelled all night with toler-

able comfort, but the coming day threatened to renew his sufferings. His apprehensions, however, were dispelled by the croaking of frogs, which, in his present circumstances, was heavenly music to his ears. Having satisfied his own thirst, and that of his horse, at the shallow pools which these noisy musicians tenanted, he pursued his course toward the south-east, in which direction he had observed a pillar of smoke, which he afterwards found to proceed from the Foulah village of Shrilla, subject to his late tyrant Ali. He at first hesitated whether to enter it, but his wants were too pressing to permit long deliberation. He accordingly applied to the Dooty, but without success; when, reflecting that hospitality does not always prefer to dwell under the loftiest roofs, he made his next application at one of the low huts without the walls, where he saw an old woman sitting before her door spinning cotton. By her his wants were speedily relieved, and he not only received some kouskous* for himself, but also some corn for his horse. Park gave her in return one of his pocket handkerchiefs, and while he gratefully acknowledged the kindness of a fellow-creature, he did not forget his obligations to the great source and fountain of all blessings. That manly and unaffected piety which so greatly contributed to support him under sufferings, did

* A dish prepared from boiled corn.

not permit him to forget the proper object of his gratitude, under his present more favourable circumstances. "I lifted up my eyes to heaven, and whilst my heart swelled with gratitude, I returned thanks to that great and bountiful Being, whose power had supported me under so many dangers, and had now spread for me a table in the wilderness."*

In this village he ran some risk of being seized and carried back to Ali, which induced him to resume his journey without delay. His course now lay through a partially cultivated and inhabited country, where he was not only less exposed to the danger of perishing from hunger or thirst, but occasionally met with particular marks of kindness from the natives. He still, however, deemed it prudent to keep as much as possible among the woods, except when necessity made him shew himself, till he arrived (July 5th) at the negro town of Wawra, properly belonging to Kaarta, but at that time tributary to Mansong, King of Bambarra.

He was now fairly beyond the reach of the Moors, whose national character he has drawn in no flattering colours, and whose conduct towards himself during his intercourse with them in the course of his present journey, together with the hostility which he experienced from

* Park's *Travels*, vol. i.

their countrymen in Sego and Sansanding, after his return to Africa, seems fully to justify the severity of the following language in which he has characterized them. "Cut off from all intercourse with civilized nations, and boasting an advantage over the Negroes, by possessing, though in a very limited degree, the knowledge of letters, they are at once the vainest and proudest, and perhaps the most bigoted, ferocious, and intolerant of all the nations on the earth, combining in their character the blind superstition of the Negro, with the savage cruelty and treachery of the Arab. The melancholy fate of Major Houghton, and the treatment I experienced during my confinement among them, will, I trust, serve as a warning to future travellers, to avoid this inhospitable district."

From the first moment of his entering the Negro territory, Park found his situation altered greatly for the better. He considered himself now as being in perfect safety from any hostile attack upon his life; as for his property, it was by this time so far reduced in point of bulk and value, as scarcely to form an object of attraction even to the most covetous. In this low ebb of his fortune, however, he accidentally discovered that he was in possession of a treasure, though he had hitherto been ignorant of its value. One morning as he was about to proceed on his journey, the hospitable Negro under whose roof he had passed the night, with a great deal of

diffidence begged a lock of his hair, as he had been told that white men's hair made a saphie, which would give to the possessor all the knowledge of white men. Park, although he was probably not ignorant of the eastern mode of estimating a man's wisdom by the length of his beard, had never before heard of so simple a mode of education. He instantly complied, however, with his landlord's request; but so great was the worthy Negro's thirst for learning, that with cutting and pulling, he contrived to crop one side of the traveller's head pretty close, and was proceeding to drink still deeper of this Pierrian spring, when Park signified his disapprobation by clapping his hat on his head, and assuring his host that he wished to reserve some of this precious merchandise for a future occasion.

The respect which superior intelligence is calculated to call forth from barbarians is no where more strikingly illustrated than in that feeling of veneration which prevails among the Negro tribes in favour of Europeans. This often amounts to a superstitious reverence for their persons, and respect for every thing that has been in their possession. Unlike the semi-barbarous natives of Asia, who affect the most supreme contempt for all that is foreign to themselves and their ill-digested institutions, the poor African feels humbled in the presence of a being always associated in his mind with the idea of superior

power and wisdom. "Alla, how wonderful!" exclaimed the old King of Boussa, while admiring the shape and beauty of a salt-box, belonging to Mr Richard Lander, and of which he ardently coveted the possession; "even the most trifling articles belonging to the white men are fit for the use of the mightiest kings. Alas! Alla has given them all the glory and the riches of the world, and its knowledge, and left none whatever for black men."* This wonderful piece of workmanship was an old latten tinder-box. According to the same intelligent traveller, the natives of central Africa regard all white men, however sorry their outward appearance may be, as a superior order of beings, in all respects more excellent than themselves. To this impression, originating, no doubt, in a great measure, from the manifest superiority of European manufacture in those articles of commerce which, in consequence of the slave traffic, have found their way into most of the kingdoms of Africa, modern travellers have been indebted for the favourable reception which they have generally met with from the natives. Park himself, helpless and in abject poverty as he was after his cruel treatment by the Moors, experienced the benefits arising from this prejudice among the Negroes. His colour alone seems to have saved him on many occasions from insult and

* Lander's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 156.

outrage ; and although it sometimes excluded him from the sympathies of the natives by inspiring terror, the same feeling appears not unfrequently to have operated in his favour, by opening the hands of some who would have felt no compassion for his misfortunes, unless they had been influenced by an undefined apprehension of the consequences of provoking the curse of a white man.

This feeling of respect, so natural in its origin, and from which the African traveller has frequently experienced such beneficial results, has sometimes displayed itself in a very ludicrous manner. It is no uncommon effect of vanity among ourselves, to persuade us that we resemble those whom we admire ; but we are seldom carried actually so far by it as to mistake black for white. It would appear that in Africa this matter is carried farther than with us, and that by the aid of a little vanity, a Negro can at once convert himself into a white man. At Yaurie, Lander overheard a conversation between two men who were quarrelling in the very height of passion. "What!" exclaimed one of them to his fellow, "thou pitiful son of a black ant! dost thou presume to say that a horse was my father? Look at these Christians! for as they are, I am; and such were my ancestors. Answer me not, I say, for I am a white man."* The speaker was a Negro, and his skin was the colour of charcoal.

* Lander's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 308.

Park was now fairly beyond the reach of Ali and his treacherous subjects, and he soon began to feel that his situation and prospects were changed considerably for the better. He no longer dreaded to approach a human habitation, or in every face feared to meet that of an enemy or a robber. He every where experienced civil and, generally, even kind treatment. The Dooties of the villages very often received him under their own roof, freely offering him a share of such food and lodging as they had to bestow, though they knew that he had no means of requiting their kindness. This was particularly fortunate, as the rainy season had now commenced, and the traveller was absolutely dependent upon such offices of kindness during a season which few, except native African constitutions, can bear, even with every convenience of diet and shelter. He had also the good luck at Wassiboo to fall in with some fugitive Kaartans, who, finding it impossible to live under the tyranny of the Moors, were on their way to Satile with the intention of transferring their allegiance to the King of Bambarra. They travelled together in company, and Park found in the society of these worthy Negroes, not only a security against the lions and other savage animals from which, in his unprotected state, he was under continual apprehension, but also the additional advantage of sharing the hospitable reception which the Bambarrans were disposed to give to *the intending settlers.*

In this manner they proceeded for about eight days without much inconvenience, except what necessarily arose from the inclemency of the season, and the bad state of the roads, through Satile, Galloo, Moorla, and other villages of the Bambarans, till on the 19th they arrived at Doolinkeaboo, when Park, finding it impossible to keep up with his companions any longer, owing to his horse being too much fatigued to be able to carry him, remained behind driving the tired animal before him at a gentle pace. The poor beast had never fairly got over the hard treatment and short commons which he as well as his master had experienced among the Moors, and being now reduced to a perfect Rozinante by the fatigues of the journey, instead of being of any assistance to Park, he was a drag upon his movements. Soon after he had left Doolinkeaboo, he fell in with two Negroes who were on their way to Sego : he was glad to have their company, and they proceeded together on their journey.

As they passed through the populous villages in the neighbourhood of the capital, the appearance of Park, who was now constantly taken for a Moor, squalid and way-worn, driving his lean horse before him, excited much merriment among the Bambarans. " He has been at Mecca," says one : " you may see that by his clothes." Another asked him if his horse was sick ; a third wished to purchase it. In short, so many were the sallies

of wit which his appearance provoked, that even the slaves were ashamed to be seen in his company. For all this, however, he was more than consoled by the information that next day he should see the great object of his long and perilous journey, the Niger, called by the Negroes JOLIBA, or *the Great River*. This joyful hope prevented him from shutting his eyes all night, and early next morning he resumed his march towards Segou. As he drew near to the city, he had the good fortune to overtake his late fellow-travellers, the fugitive Kaartans, who readily undertook to introduce him to the King of Bambarra. As they were riding together through some marshy ground, one of them called out "GEO AFFILLI," *see the water!* The patriot leader of the ten thousand Greeks could not have felt more joy at the shout of *the sea, the sea*, which proclaimed rest and safety to his harassed troops, than Park experienced from this simple exclamation. He turned his eyes in the direction pointed out by his companion; "and looking forwards," he says, "I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission; the long sought for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to *the eastward*. I hastened to the brink, and having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success."

For the fact of the Niger flowing *eastward*, though contrary to the belief which had for ages generally prevailed in Europe, and had been entertained even by Arab geographers of eminence, Park was, in some measure, prepared by the accounts which he had received from Negroes of different nations since he left the coast. But he now, for the first time, felt that his journey had not been in vain; he had solved the obscure problem as to the existence and course of the Niger; his own eyes had seen its mighty stream sweeping over the plains of central Africa; his own lips had tasted its water; and he had a fair prospect of being able to trace its course to its mysterious termination. What so many brave men had perished in attempting; what powerful states, even, had failed to accomplish, he, a young man of only five-and-twenty, alone and almost unassisted, had successfully achieved. It was not improbable that his discoveries might be attended eventually with the greatest advantages to British commerce; and, at all events, he would be entitled to the gratitude of his country, for his successful investigation of a problem to which she had been pleased to attach considerable importance.

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, at which Park had now arrived, presented to his view a more favourable specimen of African civilization and magnificence than he had yet witnessed. The city, which is built on both sides of the river, contains,

he understood, about thirty thousand inhabitants; and there was an air of liveliness and bustle in its market and about its streets, which, added to the numerous canoes on the river, indicated more traffic, and a greater advancement in the social system, than the traveller was prepared to expect from all that he had hitherto seen of African life. But the hopes which he naturally built on a circumstance apparently so favourable to his views, were, in some measure, disappointed. While he was waiting for a boat to carry him across to the south part of the city, where the king resided, he received a message from the monarch, that he must not presume to cross, at least till farther orders. He was, at the same time, advised to take up his lodgings in a neighbouring village till Mansong's pleasure should be known; a hint which he was not in a condition to dispute. He, accordingly, set off for the village, but could prevail upon no one to admit him into his house. He was, therefore, under the necessity of spending all that day without food, under the shade of a tree; and as the night threatened to be tempestuous, and the neighbourhood of Segó is much infested with wild beasts, he was about to seek safety and shelter for the night among its branches, when a woman returning from the labours of the field, took compassion on him, and brought him to her hut. She then lighted a lamp, and spreading a mat on the floor, told him that he might remain

there for the night ; but, finding that her guest was hungry as well as weary, the good woman did not limit her hospitality to providing a lodging for him. She went out and soon after returned with a fine fish, which she broiled for his supper ; and having again pointed to the mat with an assurance that he might sleep there without apprehension, she called to the female part of her family to resume their task of spinning cotton, an employment which had been suspended while they gazed with marked astonishment at the stranger. They continued their task during the greater part of the night, lightening their labour by songs, one of which was an extempore effusion, of which Park himself was the subject. " It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were these ; — ' The winds roared, and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree. He has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn. *Chorus* : Let us pity the white man, no mother has he, &c.' " It may easily be conceived that Park was deeply affected by this instance of kindly feeling. Himself keenly alive to the finer sensibilities of our common nature, his heart freely responded to the simple strain which so directly placed before him his present isolation, and at the same time reminded him, that even here, amid strangers and barbarians,

he might still calculate on those sympathies which Nature herself hath implanted in the human breast. He found that however rude the instrument, the chord which vibrates to the touch of pity is still the same. This little specimen of African poetry, even when divested of the peculiar charm which, from the circumstances under which it was composed and sung, recommended it so strongly to the heart of the traveller, is touching from that artless feeling which the critics of more civilized nations have considered as the first excellence in song writing. It has been versified with much elegance, by the beautiful and accomplished Duchess of Devonshire,* and the version deserves to be inserted, both on account of its intrinsic merit, and for the purpose of shewing how faithfully the heart of an English Peeress of the highest rank, and moving in the most polished circle, can beat in unison with the simple and tender hearted sympathy of a Negro peasant.

I.

The loud wind roar'd, the rain fell fast,
The white man yielded to the blast;
He sat him down beneath our tree,
For weary, sad, and faint was he;
And, ah! no wife or mother's care
For him the milk or corn prepare.



* Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, mother to the present Duke.

CHORUS.

The white man shall our pity share ;
Alas ! no wife or mother's care,
For him the milk or corn prepare.

II.

The storm is o'er, the tempest past,
And mercy's voice has hush'd the blast ;
The wind is heard in whispers low,
The white man far away must go ;
But ever in his heart will bear
Remembrance of the Negro's care.

CHORUS.

Go, white man, go ; but with thee bear
The Negro's wish, the Negro's prayer,
Remembrance of the Negro's care.

Park's finances were long since exhausted, and the only return which he could make to his kind hearted hostess for her hospitality, was a present of four brass buttons stripped off his waistcoat. He remained in this village two days, expecting to obtain Mansong's permission to cross the river, and pay his respects to him ; but on the third day he had the mortification to receive a message from that prince, intimating his pleasure that Park should forthwith depart from the neighbourhood of Sego. At the same time the messenger gave him a bag containing five thousand *cowries*, which, he said, Mansong, wishing to relieve a white man in distress, had sent him as a present to enable him to purchase provisions

in the course of his journey. The astonished traveller found some difficulty in reconciling the harsh command of the King with his friendly present ; but on farther inquiry, he found reason to believe that Mansong was deterred from admitting him into his presence by the apprehension that he should not be able to protect him against the malice of the Moors, who constitute a large and powerful part of the population of Sego. On the whole, he was satisfied that Mansong's conduct was as friendly and liberal as, under the circumstances, he had any right to expect. He had even reason to praise his munificence, since past experience had shewn him that African princes were more disposed to exact than to bestow presents ; and though the royal bounty was apparently trifling enough, amounting to something less than a guinea of our money, it was, in reality, of much greater value, as, according to Park's own calculation, it would purchase provisions for himself and corn for his horse, for at least fifty days. No doubt the traveller did not appreciate it the less that the supply was seasonable as well as unexpected ; the articles which he carried with him from the Gambia had long since disappeared ; the Moors had relieved him of his gold, and disencumbered him of his wardrobe, and the scanty vestments which he still called his own, could now scarcely boast of a single brass button, the glittering metal having, for some time

past, proved a tolerable substitute for a more precious currency.

Notwithstanding the opposition which he had experienced from the Moors in every place where that savage people had any influence, and though he was now informed that their authority was still greater at Jenné, Timbuctoo, and other parts of his projected route, Park determined, at all hazards, to proceed on his journey along the course of the river. He accordingly left Segó with a guide, and, travelling in a north-easterly direction, passed through Kabba, and arrived at Sansanding, where he met with a good deal of annoyance from the Moors, who insisted on his conforming with the Mahomedan faith, so far, at least, as to repeat prayers from the Koran. This, however, Park resolutely refused to do; and he was only saved from being forcibly carried to the mosque by the interference of his host, Counti Mamadi, the Dooty of Sansanding, who said that he would not permit the king's stranger to be ill treated whilst under his protection. The old gentleman entertained him with much hospitality; and, before dismissing him next morning, desired his guest to write him a *saphie*, for, reasoned the venerable Negro, "If a Moor's *saphie* is good, a white man's must be better." Park readily complied with his wish, and gave him one possessed of all the virtues he could concentrate, for it contained the Lord's Prayer. It was written on a thin

board, with a reed pen, and ink made of charcoal and gum-water.

From Sansanding, they proceeded along the northern bank of the river towards Modiboo, through a country much infested by lions. It would appear, however, that, except when urged by hunger, this much dreaded animal, even in his own native deserts, possesses little of that savage ferocity which distinguishes many beasts of prey. Of this our traveller witnessed more than one instance. The following is a striking one, which occurred as he approached Modiboo.

“As we were crossing a large open plain, where there were a few scattered bushes, my guide, who was a little way before me, wheeled his horse round in a moment, calling out something in the Foulah language which I did not understand. I inquired, in Mandingo, what he meant: ‘*Wara billi billi*,’ (a very large lion,) said he; and made signs for me to ride away. But my horse was too much fatigued: so we rode slowly past the bush, from which the animal had given us the alarm. Not seeing any thing myself, however, I thought my guide had been mistaken, when the Foulah suddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, ‘*Soubah an Alluhi!*’ (God preserve us!) and, to my great surprise, I then perceived a great red lion, at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore paws. I expected he would

instantly spring at me, and instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim rather than myself. But it is probable the lion was not hungry; for he quietly suffered us to pass, though we were fairly within his reach. My eyes were so riveted upon this sovereign of the beasts, that I found it impossible to remove them until we were at a considerable distance."

At sunset, he reached Madiboo, whence he proceeded, next morning, to Kea; but, on the way, was obliged to abandon his horse, which fell on the road, and was too weak to get up again. Park sat down, for some time, beside the way-worn associate of his adventures; but, finding him unable to rise, he took off the saddle and bridle, and placed a quantity of grass before him. The fate of his faithful companion appears to have touched him more than might have been expected from a man who never allowed his spirits to be affected by much greater misfortunes. "I surveyed the poor animal," he says, "as he lay panting on the ground, with sympathetic emotion; for I could not suppress the sad apprehension that I should myself, in a short time, lie down and perish, in the same manner, of fatigue and hunger." At Kea, he was treated by the Dooty in no very friendly manner; but, finding here a fishing canoe on its return to Silla, he had

the good fortune to obtain a passage down the river to Moorgan, whence he was ferried across to Silla, where his reception was not much better than at Kea. He obtained a lodging, however, though an indifferent one ; but a smart paroxysm of fever during the night banished the repose of which he stood so much in need.

His situation was now extremely critical : difficulties were multiplying at every step ; and he, at length, began reluctantly to admit the conviction that it would be idle to attempt carrying his original plan into execution. There is a point at which enterprise degenerates into fool-hardiness, and Park had more reason to fear that he had already subjected himself to this charge, than that he could be suspected of timidity, should he resolve to proceed no farther. Yet it is evident that he did not adopt this resolution without extreme pain, or till success had become not only improbable, but utterly hopeless. "Worn down," he says, "by sickness, exhausted with hunger and fatigue ; half naked, and without any article of value, by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging ; I began to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced, by painful experience, that the obstacles to my farther progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains were already set in with all their violence ; the rice grounds and swamps were every where

overflowed ; and, in a few days more, travelling of every kind, unless by water, would be completely obstructed. The kowries which remained of the King of Bambarra's present, were not sufficient to enable me to hire a canoe for any great distance ; and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity, in a country where the Moors have such influence. But, above all, I perceived that I was advancing, more and more, within the power of those merciless fanatics ; and from my reception both at Sego and Sansanding, I was apprehensive that, in attempting to reach even Jenné (unless under the protection of some man of consequence amongst them, which I had no means of obtaining,) I should sacrifice my life to no purpose ; for my discoveries would perish with me. The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to be the only alternative ; for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge, that I did right in going no farther. I had made every effort to execute my mission in its fullest extent, which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey, nor the dangers of a

second captivity, should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do ; and, whatever may be the opinion of my general readers on this point, it affords me inexpressible satisfaction, that my honourable employers have been pleased, since my return, to express their full approbation of my conduct."

It is impossible that there can be two opinions on the propriety of Park's conduct in this respect. He had already done more than any of his predecessors could boast, and, perhaps, than any other man, under similar circumstances, could have achieved: to have attempted more, would have been to risk the loss to his country of all that he had already discovered, as well as his own life, without any thing like such a prospect of ultimate advantage as could alone have justified his incurring that risk. Having, therefore, collected all the information that he could obtain at Silla regarding the farther course of the Niger, the different kingdoms and cities which it passed, together with other matters of African geography and statistics, he directed his face westward, and on the morning of 30th July, began to retrace his steps under circumstances sufficiently discouraging,—in a sickly state of health, half naked, with scarcely the means of purchasing a single meal, and with the prospect before him of having to traverse on foot a distance of more than twelve hundred miles, through unknown deserts and amid

barbarous tribes; at a season of the year, too, when travelling is rendered almost impracticable by the state of the roads, and when the climate of Africa, always trying to a European constitution, is formidable to the very natives themselves. His difficulties were farther increased by a suspicion, which he found very prevalent as he approached Sego, that he was a spy; and he was informed that Mansong himself, acting under the impression, had sent a canoe to Jenné to bring him back. This induced him to avoid Sego; and he had some thoughts of swimming his horse, which he had now recovered in a better condition than that in which he had left him, across the Niger, and striking southward to traverse the country in the direction of Cape Coast. This intention, however, he soon abandoned, on the ground that he should better answer the purpose of his mission, by tracing the course of the Niger towards its source, and ascertaining how far it was navigable to the westward. He, accordingly, continued his journey along its northern bank, sometimes experiencing that compassion which his appearance was calculated to excite, but still more frequently subjected to insults and ill-treatment, which his situation did not permit him to resent. It is the peculiar hardship of poverty, that it often exposes its victim to oppression from the very circumstance that forms the strongest claim upon the sympathy of a well constituted mind,—the inability of the

sufferer to protect himself from injury. Park frequently experienced the truth of this observation in the course of his present journey; but he also had many opportunities of witnessing and profiting by a better feeling. In general, however, his journey was one of extreme hardship; and nothing more clearly shews that he possessed, in a very rare degree, that first qualification of an African traveller, indomitable spirit, than the fact that in his present wretched circumstances, when scarcely a hope remained of his being able to reach his native country, he was as particular in his inquiries, and as minute in his observations, as if he had been sauntering at his ease on a botanical excursion along the banks of his favourite Yarrow.

It is unnecessary to trace his progress step by step as he pursued his weary journey through the Bambarran territory, as the narrative would be little more than a repetition of dangers and hardships similar to those which he had already experienced, and, especially, as we shall have occasion to describe the same route when we come to speak of his second journey. His only resource now against absolute starvation, was to write *saphies* for the natives, who have a superstitious confidence in charms, especially those procured from a white man and a Christian. This valuable art, Park was too honourable to practise for the sake of making money by it; but necessity now compelled him to have recourse to it for a

bare subsistence. He, accordingly, picked up a tolerable livelihood as a conjurer, after running the most imminent risk of starvation as an honest man ; so much easier is it, in general, to impose upon the credulity of men, than to excite their benevolence. The *sophie* generally consisted of a lock of his hair, or a sentence written on a board with charcoal, which the patient washed off and swallowed, as a preservative against ill-fortune, or as a means of obtaining success in his speculations.

At Bammakoo, a trading town of some importance, he was obliged to deviate from the course which he had hitherto pursued along the bank of the river, as the route which he had contemplated would have led him to cross the Niger, and he was given to understand, that during the rainy season, this was altogether impracticable. He, therefore, proceeded in a northerly direction toward Sibidooloo, the frontier town of Manding, in the neighbourhood of which a new misfortune awaited him. He was surprised by a party of Foulah banditti, who deprived him of his horse, stripped him quite naked, and threatened to put him to death. At length, moved by his entreaties, they shewed some signs of humanity, and, having restored to him the worst of his two shirts, a pair of trowsers, and his hat, marched off with the rest of their worthless booty, leaving the traveller in a state of wretchedness,

greater than he had yet experienced. Even this misfortune, however, did not entirely vanquish a spirit which had something better to rest upon in the day of trouble, than the fortitude which arises from mere stoicism. "After they were gone," he says, "I sat for some time looking around me with amazement and terror. Whichever way I turned, nothing appeared but danger and difficulty. I saw myself in the midst of a vast wilderness in the depth of the rainy season, naked and alone; surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage. I was five hundred miles from the nearest European settlement. All these circumstances crowded at once on my recollection; and I confess that my spirits began to fail me. I considered my fate as certain, and that I had no alternative, but to lie down and perish. The influence of religion, however, aided and supported me. I reflected that no human prudence or foresight could possibly have averted my present sufferings. I was indeed a stranger in a strange land, yet I was still under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condescended to call himself the Stranger's Friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss, in fructification, irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to shew from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger

than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsula, without admiration. Can that Being, thought I, who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image? —surely not! Reflections like these would not allow me to despair. I started up, and disregarding both hunger and fatigue, travelled forwards, assured that relief was at hand; and I was not disappointed.”*

* The affecting little incident mentioned in the above extract, suggested the following verses, which are inserted here, not for their poetical merit, but on account of the circumstances under which they were composed. The author, Alexander Letham, a blind boy, was an inmate of the Edinburgh Blind Asylum. They are quoted from *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*.

Ah! lovely flower, what care, what power,
 In thy fair structure are display'd
 By Him who rear'd thee to this hour
 Within the forest's lonely shade!

Thy tender stalk, and fibres fine,
 Here find a shelter from the storm;
 Perhaps no human eyes but mine
 Ere gazed upon thy lovely form.

The dew-drop glistens on thy leaf,
 As if thou seem'st to shed a tear—
 As if thou knew'st my tale of grief—
 Felt all my sufferings severe!

At Sibidooloo he met with a very generous reception from the Dooty, who even promised to procure him the restoration of his horse and clothes, a promise which he religiously kept, though several days elapsed before the thieves were discovered. Park, in the meanwhile, continued his journey to Wonda, the Dooty of which received him kindly, though so great a scarcity prevailed in the country at the time, that even mothers sold their children for a few days' provisions. Here he remained till he recovered his

But, ah ! thou know'st not my distress,
In danger here from beasts of prey,
And robb'd of all I did possess,
By men more fierce by far than they.

Nor canst thou ease my burden'd sigh,
Nor cool the fever at my heart,
Though to the sephyr's passing by
Thou dost thy balmy sweets impart.

Yet He that form'd thee, little plant,
And bade thee flourish in this place,
Who sees and feels my every want,
Can still support me by His grace.

Oft has His arm, all strong to save,
Protected my defenceless head
From ills I never could perceive,
Nor could my feeble hand have stay'd.

Then shall I still pursue my way
O'er this wild desert's sun-burnt soil,
To where the ocean's swelling spray
Washes my long'd for native isle.

horse and clothes. The former was so lean and weak from fatigue and hard treatment, as to be unfit for encountering farther hardship; Park, therefore, made a present of him to his landlord, and sent the saddle and bridle to the Dooty of Sibidooloo, as the only acknowledgment which he had in his power to make for his kindness. The clothes, indifferent as they were, were absolutely indispensable as a protection from the heat and rains, which had already so greatly affected his health, as to bring on frequent paroxysms of fever. His half-boots, which were no longer serviceable in their original shape, he converted into a pair of tolerable sandals, and he was thus enabled to proceed, though by slow and painful journeys, to Kamalia. Here he was received into the house of Karfa Taura, a *Bushreen* or Mahommedan slave merchant, who was preparing to set out with a kaffila to Gambia, as soon as the rains were over. This worthy man, whose heart had not been hardened by his cruel traffic, received the traveller with much kindness, and setting before him the utter impossibility of performing that perilous journey at such a season, prevailed upon him to wait at Kamalia and join the caravan. Park reluctantly consented; but it was fortunate for him that so favourable an opportunity of finishing his journey in safety presented itself under his present circumstances. Distress and famine were staring him in the face; before him lay the Jallonka Wilderness,

where for five days' journey the traveller sees no habitation of man ; he had no longer a horse, or money to buy one ; and his fever had of late increased so much, that he was incapable of any exertion which could give him even a distant hope of surmounting obstacles so formidable. He, therefore, closed with Karfa Taura's offer, and agreed to pay him, on their arrival at Gambia, the value of a prime slave for his present board and lodging, and for the protection of his kaffila till they reached the coast. There can be little doubt, that without such an arrangement, Park's valuable life must have terminated at the present stage of his journey ; and the important information regarding the geography, manners, and history of central Africa, which through him we now possess, must have been forever lost to his countrymen. His name would soon have been forgotten, or remembered only in connection with an enterprise, which in the eyes of the world required to be attended with success, to save it from the character of rashness.

During the first five weeks of his stay at Kamalia, he was still tormented with fever, and his health continued to be extremely precarious. His host attended him with unremitting tenderness, and offered him such comfort as his good nature could suggest. Books, those valuable companions in a sick man's chamber, Park could scarcely expect to meet with in the very

heart of Africa; he was agreeably surprised, therefore, to find that Karfa Taura could boast the luxury of a library. It must be confessed, indeed, that his collection of books was not extensive, consisting, it would appear, of only two volumes, but these were excellent of their kind, being an Arabic *Koran*, and an English *Book of Common Prayer*. It may readily be conceived that Park experienced no small degree of pleasure in meeting with, and perusing this last mentioned precious volume at such a time, and in such circumstances. Before the departure of the caravan, he found himself sufficiently recovered to look forward without apprehension to his approaching journey,—a convalescence towards which, he acknowledges, “the benevolent and simple manners of the Negroes, and the perusal of Karfa’s little volume, greatly contributed.” The abundant leisure which he enjoyed in his present situation, Park employed in making observations on the climate and productions of the country, and in collecting all the information which he could obtain on the subject of African commerce, and all other matters which he thought might be interesting to his patrons of the Association, or to his countrymen generally. These observations form a prominent feature in the volume of *Travels* which he published after his return to England, and they constitute a valuable addition

to our knowledge, still very meagre, of the central kingdoms of the great African continent.

Towards the end of January, Karfa Taura, and the other Slatees who were to accompany him, had all their preparations for the journey completed; but, under various pretences, they put off their departure from day to day, until February was far advanced; and the fast of Rhamadan now approaching, they resolved to remain at Kamalia till it was over. Park was a good deal annoyed at this delay; for, though Karfa Taura's kindness toward him was still unabated, and he had in a great measure become reconciled to the mode of life among the Negroes, he felt a painful longing for the manifold blessings of civilized life. At length the appearance of the new moon released the superstitious Bushreens from their self-denying observances, and on the 19th of April, the kaffila, consisting in all of seventy-three persons, started from Kamalia, amid the tender farewells and lamentations of the inhabitants. At day break on the 23d, they entered the Jallonka Wilderness. They were five days in crossing this formidable desert, during which they performed a journey of upwards of a hundred miles, without seeing a single human habitation. The horrors and fatigue of their march, were felt severely by all, but especially by the unfortunate slaves, one of whom, a female, they were actually forced to

abandon, in consequence of her utter inability to proceed. There was a general cry that her *throat should be cut*; but this was overruled by Karfa Taura, who, with a very questionable humanity, preferred leaving her to die in solitude of hunger, or to be devoured by wild beasts. How painful must [it have been to the gentle heart of Park to witness such a scene! Yet he felt that a similar fate must be his own, if fatigue should make him unable to keep up with his companions. They arrived on the 27th at Sooseeta; and journeying through a friendly country, on the 3d of May reached Malacotta, where meeting with some friends, they halted for three days, and were treated with the greatest hospitality. Here Park was informed of an event of recent occurrence, which was already a favourite theme of the *singing men* throughout this part of Africa; and although it has no intimate connection with the subject of our narrative, we are tempted to insert it as an extraordinary instance of magnanimity, among a people whose habits and prejudices are little favourable to its exercise, and who have ever regarded cruelty towards a vanquished enemy as one of the military virtues.

Abdulkader, the King of Foota Torra, a Mahomedan, and a zealous bigot in his passion for making proselytes, had sent an embassy to Damel, King of the Jaloffs, to convert him to the faith

of the Prophet. The ambassador was accompanied by two Bushreens, each of whom carried a large knife, which they laid before Damel, while the ambassador explained the meaning of these suspicious emblems. "With this knife," he said, "Abdulkader will condescend to shave the head of Damel, if Damel will embrace the Mahommedan faith; and with this other knife Abdulkader will cut the throat of Damel, if Damel refuses to embrace it,—take your choice." The King of the Jaloffs replied with much *sang-froid*, that he had no choice to make. He neither chose to have his head shaved, nor his throat cut; and with this answer the Foota Torra envoy was civilly dismissed. Abdulkader immediately marched his army into Damel's country; but on the first news of his approach, the inhabitants had filled up their wells, destroyed their provisions, removed their effects, and abandoned their dwellings; so that the invaders, after advancing three days' journey into the Jaloff territory without meeting any opposition, began to suffer greatly from want of provisions, and especially from thirst. This induced them to direct their march towards the woods, where they discovered a watering place; and the men being overcome with fatigue, after quenching their thirst, lay down carelessly to sleep among the bushes. In this situation they were surprised by

Damel, who attacked them during the night, and completely routed them. Many were trampled to death by the Jaloff cavalry, others were killed in their flight, and a still greater number were made prisoners. Among these last was the unlucky Abdulkader himself, who was now led, a wretched captive, into the presence of the prince whom he had so lately insulted by his arrogant message. "The behaviour of Damel, on this occasion, is never mentioned by the singing men but in terms of the highest approbation; and it was, indeed, so extraordinary in an African prince, that the reader may find it difficult to give credit to the recital. When his royal prisoner was brought before him in irons, and thrown upon the ground, the magnanimous Damel, instead of setting his foot upon his neck, and stabbing him with his spear, according to custom in such cases, addressed him as follows:—'Abdulkader, answer me this question. If the chance of war had placed me in your situation, and you in mine, how would you have treated me?' 'I would have thrust my spear into your heart,' returned Abdulkader, with great firmness; 'and I know that a similar fate awaits me.' 'Not so,' said Damel, 'my spear is indeed red with the blood of your subjects killed in battle, and I could now give it a deeper stain by dipping it in your own; but this would not build up my towns, nor bring to life the thousands who fell in the woods. I

will not, therefore, kill you in cold blood, but I will retain you as my slave, until I perceive that your presence in your own kingdom will be no longer dangerous to your neighbours; and then I will consider of the proper way of disposing of you.' Abdulkader was accordingly retained, and worked as a slave for three months; at the end of which period, Damel listened to the solicitations of the inhabitants of Foota Torra, and restored to them their king. Strange as this story may appear, I have no doubt of the truth of it: it was told me at Malacotta by the Negroes; it was afterwards related to me by the Europeans on the Gambia; by some of the French at Goree; and confirmed by nine slaves, who were taken prisoners along with Abdulkader, by the watering place in the woods, and carried in the same ship with me to the West Indies."

Similar instances of magnanimity are rare, even among the most civilized people of ancient or of modern times, who have lavished the highest praise on generous actions, and among whom, accordingly, there existed every motive to exercise this virtue; but the African prince manifested the innate nobleness of his mind in circumstances where his conduct was more likely to incur censure than to obtain praise, and where the custom of his country and the prejudices of his education, were all calculated to stir up, rather than allay, the natural feeling of revenge.

As the greater part of Park's route, after leaving Malacotta, is the same which he afterwards pursued in his second expedition, it is unnecessary to say any thing of it at present, since we shall have a more favourable opportunity of describing it when we come to speak of the difficulties which he encountered on that fatal journey. A march of somewhat less than a month brought the kaffila to Jindey, where, eighteen months before, the traveller had parted with his friend, Dr Laidley ; an interval during which, as he himself pathetically remarks, he had not beheld the face of a Christian, nor once heard the delightful sound of his native tongue. Here Karfa Taura left his Negroes till a favourable market should offer, and agreed to accompany his white friend to Pisania. Park, however, though now approaching the end of his own toils and dangers, could not leave his unfortunate fellow-travellers, doomed as they were to slavery in a foreign land, without great emotion. " During a wearisome peregrination of more than five hundred British miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine ; and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret

and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them; and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible I had no more to give."

Proceeding to Pisania, he accepted the invitation of his countryman, Mr Robert Ainsley, to stay with him till the arrival of his friend, Dr Laidley, who was then absent, but who returned two days after Park's arrival, and received him with great joy and satisfaction as *one risen from the dead*. In this sunshine of his fortune, he was not forgetful of his benefactor, Karfa. He paid him double the value of his agreement, Dr Laidley readily undertaking to deliver goods to that amount; besides which, the Doctor engaged to assist him in disposing of his slaves to the best advantage. The poor Negro was overcome with gratitude, and would often exclaim, "My journey has indeed been prosperous!" But when he looked around him, and saw the manifest superiority of art and manufacture in this new scene, and among a strange people, he would observe, with a sigh, "*Fato feng inta feng*,"—(black men are nothing.) The deep impression made upon the mind of this worthy Negro, by the kindness which he experienced from Park and his friends, was at a subsequent period very strikingly manifested, when, several years after, on hearing that a white man was travelling through the country, b

undertook a journey of several days on the bare chance of finding the stranger to be his former acquaintance, and was gratified by once more meeting with Park near the banks of the Niger.

No European vessel having arrived at Gambia for some time past, and none being soon expected, Park engaged a passage in the American ship *Charlestown*, which was to touch at Goree, and to proceed thence to South Carolina. Having bid an affectionate adieu to Dr Laidley and his other friends, he embarked at Kayee, on the 17th of June.

The passage proved both tedious and dangerous. At Goree, they were detained till the beginning of October for want of provisions; and disease carried off many of the Negroes, of which the ship's cargo chiefly consisted, together with four seamen, and the surgeon. Park consented to supply his place during the remainder of the voyage, which, fortunately for him, terminated sooner than he expected; for the ship became so leaky that the master was obliged to make for Antigua, where the vessel was condemned as unfit for sea.

From Antigua, Park sailed in the *Chesterfield* Packet, which touched there on its homeward course from the Leeward Islands. After a tempestuous voyage, he landed at Falmouth, on the

22d of December, 1797, having been absent from his native shore two years and seven months, in the course of which he encountered more danger and hardship than man is almost ever called upon to endure, and displayed a more eminent degree of enterprise, fortitude, and prudence, than often falls to the share of the unfortunate to possess.

CHAPTER IV.

Interest excited by Park's return—His reception from the African Association—Publishes his Travels—Great popularity of the Work—Objections—He returns to Scotland, and Marries—Inactivity—Settles at Peebles as a Surgeon.

FROM Falmouth, Park hastened to London, where he arrived before daybreak on the morning of the 25th; and, not choosing to disturb the family of his brother-in-law, Mr Dickson, at that early hour, he sauntered for some time about the streets, till, finding one of the entrances into the gardens of the British Museum accidentally open, he walked in to while away the time. By the merest chance, Mr Dickson, who had the care of these gardens, happened to be there that morning, on some trifling business, at an unusually early hour; and it is not very easy to conceive his astonishment on beholding what, at such a time and place, must have appeared the ghost rather than the living presence of his long lost friend, whose grave, he supposed, had long since been dug in the sands of the African desert! Their recognition was, of course, a joyful one. Mr Dickson received the traveller with delight, the

more intense that he had given up all hope of ever seeing him more, or even of ascertaining his fate; and Park's anxiety about his friends, of whom he had not heard for more than two years, was at length relieved by the assurance of their welfare.

But it was not within the narrow circle of his relations only that his return was regarded as an interesting event. The attention of the public had, for some time past, been attracted to the spirited proceedings of the African Association; the object of Park's mission had excited some interest; that interest now revived with additional force when the traveller's almost unhoped-for arrival was announced, and especially when a rumour began to prevail of the interesting discoveries which he had made. The Association itself naturally regarded Park's safe arrival after so many perils as a great triumph. Their protégé had for ever set at rest an important question in African geography, and he had collected more extensive and more accurate information respecting the physical and moral aspect of its central kingdoms than all the exertions of former travellers had been able to obtain. The journey, happily carried through under their auspices, was admitted, even by foreigners, to be "Le plus important qu'aucun Européen eût jamais dans cette contrée."* They felt, therefore,

* M. Eyriès.

the Association which had patronized him had acquired a higher status by his success, and could now put forward a more confident claim to public support. Park was, accordingly, received by them with open arms ; and the Association, with a liberality which does them honour, gave up their right to the exclusive property of his papers, and gave him full permission to publish his Travels for his own benefit. In order, however, to gratify, in a certain degree, the curiosity which prevailed, an elegant Abstract was prepared from Park's minutes by Mr Bryan Edwards, their secretary, and printed for the use of the subscribers to the Association. To this abstract was annexed a Memoir, by Major Rennel, consisting of geographical illustrations of Park's journey. The former, Park afterwards embodied in his extended narrative, to which also the latter formed a valuable appendix. Major Rennel's name as a distinguished geographer is well known ; and although recent discoveries have proved many of his conjectures (particularly with regard to the course and termination of the Niger, together with the reasoning by which his speculations were supported) to be incorrect, his Memoir may still be read with advantage by those who take an interest in the ancient and modern geography of central Africa.

Park remained all winter in London, having occasion to be in constant communication with

Major Rennel and Mr Edwards, while they were engaged in drawing up their abstract of his discoveries. In the course of the ensuing spring, some proposals were made to him from Government, for the purpose of engaging his services in a complete survey of New Holland, which was at that time in contemplation ; but the particulars of this transaction are unknown ; and the offer, though afterwards repeated, was declined.

About the beginning of June, he left London, and spent the rest of the summer and autumn with his friends in Scotland. His mother still resided at Fowlshiels, and must have felt no ordinary pleasure in again embracing her affectionate son after all his wanderings. If the detail of his sufferings are calculated to draw tears from the eyes of strangers, what must have been the effect of the narrative on the domestic circle gathered round the humble hearth at Fowlshiels ! and what must have been Park's own feelings, when he contrasted his present situation, seated by his mother's fireside, and surrounded by the sympathizing countenances of his brothers and sisters, and early companions, with the scowling faces of Ali's horsemen in the camp at Benowm, and the horrors of his journey through the Kaarta Wilderness !

All summer he was busily occupied with preparing his Travels for the press. During the whole of this time he was a very hard student, a

according to the account given by his family, scarcely allowed himself necessary exercise, being engaged with his manuscripts all day, and only stealing an hour in the evening for a solitary walk. Habits of composition were new to him : the notes which he had brought home with him were necessarily scanty and imperfect, and he had to supply the deficiency from memory ; and, in addition to all this, the public interest which was already excited by the announcement of his intended publication, impressed him strongly with the necessity of revising his narrative with the greatest care, and submitting to the severest scrutiny of his own judgment, opinions which he had good reason to believe would be eagerly canvassed, and strictly sifted by one or other of the parties, between which, at that very time, Africa was a subject of keen and angry contention.

The conflicting opinions on the subject of African geography, to which reference has already been made, were chiefly confined to the learned ; but another subject, of more general interest, was at the same time deeply agitated among all classes of the community. The Slave Trade still received the sanction of the British Government ; and both its advocates and its opponents looked forward with eagerness to the publication of a work which was to convey authentic information upon a subject most interesting to both parties, and from which each hoped to obtain an accession

to his cause of fresh facts and additional arguments. Park was therefore obliged not only to be extremely exact in regard to his facts, but also to guard carefully against expressing any hasty or ill digested opinions, — knowing that men lay on the catch for his expressions, to make use of his authority for good or for evil, as might suit their own convenience : and the event fully justified the pains which he bestowed in guarding his narrative against the mistakes of ignorance, or the misconstructions of malice.

About the close of the year he returned to London for the purpose of superintending the publication of his book ; but, after consultation with his literary friends, he found it necessary to revise, correct, and retrench from the voluminous manuscripts which he carried with him from the country. The work at length appeared in April, 1799, in a handsome quarto, with a dedication to the members of the African Association, and at once obtained that popularity to which it is so justly entitled by its literary merits, as well as for the interesting and important information which it contains. Two large impressions were rapidly sold off, and numerous editions of the entire work, together with abridgments, have since been called for. Indeed, few books have been received with more favour by the public, or better merit such a reception, than *Park's Travels*. The narrative blends all the interest of a romance, with the

valuable instruction which is to be derived from a true and faithful description of scenes and manners of which the European public had hitherto little or no knowledge. Nor is it the least merit of the work that it makes us intimately acquainted with the author's character, without affording the slightest ground for charging him with egotism. He is, indeed, perpetually before our eyes in his own person ; but his simple and unaffected manner of describing his own feelings and his conduct amid the difficulties and dangers which he had to encounter, resembles more the candour of a penitent in the confessional, than the usual style of a candidate for popular applause. The traveller's temper and prudence, his ardour of enterprise, his steady perseverance and matchless fortitude, are inferred exclusively from the events which he records, and in no degree from any appearance of that self-complacence which is the offspring of vanity. But there is no affectation of modesty—no literary coquetry : the author neither impertinently obtrudes, nor unnecessarily withdraws himself ; and we read his manly narrative with a feeling of conviction in its truth, which admits of no suspicion that any sacrifice has been made to effect. Park's work is, indeed, an admirable specimen of what a personal narrative ought ever to be,—elegant without pretence, easy without being insipid, and various, according to its subject, without destroying that harmony of composition

which is necessary to give it interest as a whole. "A judicious and accurate observer," says a French critic, speaking of these Travels, "as well as an intrepid traveller, Park gives us a faithful picture of the manners of the Moors and Negroes. The tone of truth which pervades his narrative, his style at once simple and graceful, and the splendour of his discoveries, secured the success of his book, which, in a short time, ran through several editions, and was translated into most of the languages of Europe."* Of these, one of the best is the French translation, by M. Casters, which appeared so early as 1800.

Even successful authorship, however, is not without its attendant troubles. The republic of letters, like other republics, looks with an eye of suspicion on those whom success has elevated above the crowd, and is occasionally disposed to subject them to a salutary *ostracism*, or at least to a sort of agrarian law, for the purpose of reducing them to an equality with their brethren. Park's merits as a traveller could not be disputed, and they were justly deemed to furnish a sufficient competence of fame for one man: the literary excellence of

* "Observateur exact et judicieux, non moins que voyageur intrépide, Park fait le tableau la plus fidèle des mœurs des Maures et des Nègres. Le ton de vérité de ses récits, son style qui réunit l'élégance à la simplicité, l'éclat de sa découverte, firent la fortune de son livre," &c. *M. Eyriès' Biographie Universelle*. Paris, 1822.

his book was also generally admitted; but this it was thought proper to transfer to another. Park himself, had, in his preface, acknowledged the assistance which he received from Mr Bryan Edwards, the whole of whose abstract, already mentioned, he had incorporated with his work, as occasion offered. The good-natured public immediately gave currency to the report that Park himself did not compose the Travels which appear under his name, but that the merit of authorship, in a principal degree, belonged to Mr Edwards. This report was circulated with much industry; and was sufficiently plausible to impose on some even of Park's warmest admirers. Mr Edwards was a gentleman of considerable literary attainments, and he was already well known to the public, by his *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. He was also secretary to the African Association, and Park's particular friend. It is, therefore, by no means improbable, that in addition to the obligation acknowledged by Park in his preface, he submitted the entire manuscript to Mr Edwards' inspection, and availed himself of his advice in making corrections and retrenchments. But what does all this amount to? To nothing more than a charge which will apply to nine out of every ten among authors, especially under the apprehensions of a first appearance before the public. There is no positive evidence

however, to shew that even to this extent Park was indebted to his friend, but even if it were proved that Mr Edwards had carefully revised the manuscript, this is very different from his being entitled to the credit of having compiled the work. Indeed, the whole charge appears ridiculous when we compare the natural unaffected style of Park's narrative, with the ornate and ambitious style which characterizes the avowed compositions of Mr Edwards : and it is not a little extraordinary that the intelligent and judicious author of the memoir prefixed to the publication of Park's Journal, in 1815, should have given any countenance to this idle report, after his own careful examination of the facts ; and still more unaccountable is it that he should not have corrected his expressed opinion, after he had been put in possession, by Park's family, of the following correspondence between him and Sir William Young. In his preface to a corrected edition of the *History of the West Indies*, which appeared very soon after Mr Edwards' death, under the superintendance of Sir William Young, the editor, speaking of Mr Edwards' literary merits, mentioned " the judicious compilation and elegant recital of the Travels of Mungo Park." This produced a letter of expostulation from Park, to which the following is a reply. Unfortunately Park's letter is lost.

SIR WILLIAM YOUNG TO MR PARK.

“59, HARLEY STREET, November 26th, 1803.

“The day before yesterday I received your letter, dated so far back as August 25th. It appears to have been put into the London post, addressed to my clerk’s lodgings, only last week, and reached me in the country, November the 7th. I am thus particular as to dates, as I could not bear the imputation of having so long neglected the due acknowledgment of a letter from one whom I so highly esteem and respect. In regard to the question you state, I understood from the late Mr Edwards that he assisted in the general arrangement of the materials you supplied, as Dr Hawkesworth did in the case of a voyage by the great navigator Captain Cooke; and that the previous Account, or Summary of your Travels, delivered into the African Association, was written by him; to which your fuller Account of your Travels in detail was subsequent. The word ‘author,’ I believe, does not occur in the passage you refer to; and if the words ‘compilation and recital’ seem to bear any application beyond the prospectus before adverted to, or in any way to trench on your just pretensions as a writer, I truly lament the inaccuracy, and will take the most immediate means of rectifying the error, which circumstances may place within my reach; either by present correction or on a new edition of the work. My

situation as Secretary of the African Association furnishes me with documents from which I have learned so highly to appreciate your character and to entertain so grateful a sense of your public services, that it would be painful in me, in the smallest degree to have stated any thing that might be so construed as to affect your just literary pretensions ; although it is difficult to add to the just and high reputation you held independently, from the fortitude, discretion, and resource so eminently shewn in your distinguished and successful enterprise."

MR PARK TO SIR WILLIAM YOUNG.

" FOWLSHIELS, 14th May, 1804. _

" I perceive by your letter, that you meant the words ' compilation' and ' recital' to refer entirely to the Abridgment of my Travels, which was written for the perusal of the African Association, by Mr Edwards, their secretary.

" A printed copy of this Abridgment was delivered to each of the gentlemen at their annual meeting, but I believe it was never publicly sold. The greater number of readers are therefore but slightly acquainted with it ; and to such, the words above mentioned will naturally convey a very different meaning. Having thus explained myself to you, I hope you will see the propriety of correcting the passage above mentioned as soon as possible. I must, therefore, request you will

permit me to insert your letter in any of the periodical publications, or favour me with a correction of the passage, as you may think proper."

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF SIR WILLIAM YOUNG
TO MR PARK.

"May 25, 1804.

"The letter which I wrote on the subject of the publication of your Travels in Africa, is perfectly at your service to make any use of which you may think proper. No measure can be more satisfactory and agreeable to myself, than that which may most fully render justice to your high and well earned reputation in every point of view."

This correspondence, one should think, was sufficient to vindicate Park's title to the authorship of the work in question. It has, indeed, been argued, that by his taking no notice of, he tacitly admits the correctness of the statement that Mr Edwards "assisted in the general arrangement of the materials which Park supplied, as Dr Hawkesworth did in the case of the voyages of Captain Cook." But such an admission would at once justify Sir William Young's mentioning Mr Edwards' name in connection with the "judicious compilation and elegant recital of the Travels of Mungo Park," and applying this to the *extended narrative*, whereas, it appears by the

correspondence, that Sir William meant it of the Abstract, which was unquestionably drawn up by Mr Edwards. Park, by his answer, shews that he now understood this Abridgment to be exclusive meant; and that the public also might be aware of this, he solicited and obtained Sir William's permission to publish his letter. After this explanation that it was not the extended work which was meant by Sir William Young in his preface, would have been impertinent in Park, and, at the same time, a very ungracious task, to have vindicated himself from a charge which was not urged of his being indebted to his late friend for the compilation of the volume to which he had prefixed his own name. His real obligations to Mr Edwards, he had himself, in that very work, voluntarily acknowledged: and any one acquainted with the integrity and manly candour of his character, cannot for a moment believe that had his obligations in other respects been as extensive as has been alleged, he would have failed to acknowledge them; much less that such a suspicion was excited, he would have been guilty of duplicity, and have published a correspondence which, on the supposition that such extensive obligations existed, was calculated to confirm them in error. With this remark, we might safely leave of the subject; but it would be unfair to leave notice what has been quoted by Park's biographer, as a *proof* that the harsh

which he has expressed on this question is well founded. This is an extract from a speech made in Parliament, on the abolition of the Slave Trade, by George Hibbert, Esq. in which that gentleman states that he was once assured by Park, *that not being in the habits of literary composition, he was obliged to employ some one to put his manuscript into a form fit for the public eye ; but that every sheet of the publication had undergone his strict revision ; and THAT NOT ONLY EVERY FACT, BUT EVERY SENTIMENT OF IT WAS HIS OWN.* Now, without pretending to decide the exact degree of accuracy which may be expected from an orator who is pleased publicly to quote the words of a conversation which must have happened some years before, it appears to us that the above extract, so far from proving that Mr Edwards either compiled Park's Travels, or made such considerable and important contributions to that work as to render the traveller's own claim to its authorship doubtful, proves exactly the reverse. In the first place, his confession to Mr Hibbert shews that what assistance he had received, from whatever quarter, he had no wish to conceal. Being diffident of the accuracy of his style, he had employed some one to *put his manuscript* into a form fit for the public eye — of course he alludes to the manuscript which he carried with him from Scotland, and which, as we have already said, was subjected to correction and occasional retrench-

ments before publication—but, “not only every fact, but every sentiment of it was his own.” If to this we add, what has been already remarked, that the style seldom bears any resemblance to Mr Edwards’ *known* style, and that it does strictly resemble that of Park’s letters, and especially of his Journal, making a little allowance between carefully revised and off-hand composition, we shall, perhaps, be doing no injustice to Mr Edwards, if we limit his probable share in the work to the lopping off a few excrescences, with the occasional substitution of a happy expression, or the remodelling of a stiff sentence; in short, with doing what any author, living at a distance from town, and writing in a hurry, would have no hesitation in empowering a friend, in whose judgment he had confidence, to do for him, without a suspicion that he was thereby risking his fair fame as an author.

Park’s appearance as an author exposed him to another charge, in the opinion of some, of a much more serious nature than that to which we have just adverted, but which appears to be still more groundless. He has been accused of being favourable to the Slave Trade, or, at all events, of not having expressed, in language sufficiently strong, his abhorrence of that inhuman traffic, which, at the time when his publication first appeared, was a subject of fierce contention in the British Senate, and over the whole country. For the first part of the charge there is not a shadow of

proof; and against the second part of the accusation, he will require no very laboured defence. It formed no part of his plan to enter upon political discussions; he professed to write a personal narrative, not a party pamphlet; and whatever disappointment his contemporaries might feel at not finding in him a zealous partisan on either side of the question, posterity has no reason to regret that he did not permit his zeal to outrun his discretion in giving an *ex cathedra* decision upon a practice which, however repugnant to our feelings, was, at that time, sanctioned by the government, and protected by the laws of his country, and regarding the propriety of abolishing which wise and good men thought themselves at liberty to differ in opinion. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that, however strongly he may have felt upon this subject, common decency must have shut his mouth against a violent declaration of hostility to the existing law, considering that at least one leading member of that Association, under whose patronage he had travelled, and by whose liberality he was now permitted to lay his discoveries before the public, was the warm and avowed advocate of the system, and, at the same time, his own particular and zealous friend. But, in fact, there is a great delusion in supposing that Park's opinion, in regard to the abolition of slavery, is entitled to more weight than that of any other man. There is no

reason whatever to suspect that he withheld any *information* which could bear upon this or any other subject; and having put the public in possession of his facts and personal observations, he left it for the politician and the statesman to draw his own inference, and apply his own remedy. Of the fairness of his statements, we have a tolerable presumption in the indisputable fact that his book was eagerly appealed to by both parties in support of their views, and that their reasonings, though tending to opposite conclusions, professed to rest on information derived from this common source.

But if Park, in the exercise of a sound discretion, declined to echo the war-cry of the zealous abolitionists, their opponents had no reason to flatter themselves that his sympathies were in accordance with theirs. Park had experimentally known the horrors of slavery; he had witnessed, and has pathetically recorded, the sufferings to which that unfortunate class were subjected in their journey from the interior to the coast, and the still greater misery to which they were exposed on shipboard; and in many passages of his work he has hinted his disapprobation of such a state in language which cannot easily be misunderstood, though he has neither given in to those exaggerations to which ignorance or design have sometimes given circulation, nor, on the other hand, sanctioned the unreasonable expectations

of amiable but too sanguine philanthropists. In private, he was still more explicit on this subject : for, although, in a narrative professedly written not for the purpose of declaring opinions, but to communicate information, he did not feel himself at liberty to dogmatize, he saw no reason for withholding his own private sentiments when the question was introduced in conversation. His own friends and family represent him as uniformly expressing himself hostile to the Slave Trade ; and even the editor of his Journal, although he had deeply imbibed the prejudice against Park for that public neutrality which, in truth, constitutes one great excellence of his narrative, and even accuses him of an evident leaning to the side of the anti-abolitionists, acknowledges, that " upon occasions when his authority had been appealed to as being favourable to that system, (the Slave Trade,) he expressed his regret that an improper stress had been laid upon certain passages in his Travels, and that a meaning had been attributed to them, which it was not intended that they should bear."* Upon the whole, then, it does not appear that there is any just ground either for accusing Park of being favourable to this unnatural traffic, or for censuring his conduct because he did not think proper, when writing a narrative for the information of his countrymen about the

* Account of the *Life of Mungo Park*, p. 40.

physical and moral geography of Africa, to go out of his way, in order to read them a political and moral lecture about matters of which they themselves were equally well qualified to judge.

Soon after the publication of his *Travels*, Park returned to Scotland. An early attachment to the eldest daughter of Mr Anderson of Selkirk, with whom he had formerly served his apprenticeship as surgeon, had, in the course of the previous summer, ripened into a formal engagement, and his marriage, which was only postponed by the cares of authorship, and the necessity of his superintending the printing of his *Travels*, took place on the 2d of August, 1799. This union contributed greatly to his happiness. It connected him still more closely with a worthy family, to every member of which he was warmly attached, and secured to him an amiable companion, who felt justly proud of his talents, and returned his affection with the most devoted attachment. What his future prospects at this period were, is not exactly known. The connection which he had just formed would lead us to suspect, that, satisfied with the fame he had already acquired, he had, for a time at least, abandoned all thought of leaving his own country, and was desirous of devoting himself for the future to the duties and habits of domestic life. But there is good reason to believe, that he never relinquished the expectation of being again called

upon to renew his exertions in the cause of discovery, and that he was still anxious to enter on a similar enterprise with that in which he had recently been engaged. This appears from the nature of his communications with Sir Joseph Banks, which had special reference to his services being required in his former capacity, either by the Association or by Government—his anxiety to obtain every information which could be of use to him in the event of an appointment of this nature—and his reluctance, in the meantime, to engage in the practice of his profession, or betake himself to any settled occupation, though the tie which he had just formed seemed to render this a matter of prudence, and, indeed, of necessity, unless he had something else immediately in view. Idleness was equally abhorrent to his nature and unjust to his family; yet, for two years after his marriage, he continued to reside with his mother and one of his brothers, at Fowlshiels, without coming to any positive determination as to his future course of life. At one time, indeed, he talked of taking a farm; but he only talked of it: * at another, he professed to be looking out for an opening to practise his profession; but apparently

* The author has been informed, by Mrs Park, that he once actually applied for a farm to the late Duke of Buccleuch, then Earl of Dalkeith; but his application was unsuccessful, though the Earl shewed him many personal attentions in sending him books, &c.

rather to appease the anxiety of his friends than with any ardent wish to be successful in his inquiries. It is quite evident that his mind was occupied with designs, in regard to which he could not expect the sympathy of his own family, and which, therefore, he was unwilling to avow openly till he should have a more certain prospect of putting them in execution. In the meantime, the profits arising from the copyright of his book, together with the liberal compensation which he had received from the African Association, enabled him to live comfortably without burdening his friends, or experiencing the immediate fear of want. This last circumstance, of itself, connected with the privations and fatigues which he had recently sustained in the course of his painful wanderings, might, to a person of less ardent and enterprising genius, have furnished a sufficient excuse for a little indulgence in the comfortable ease of his present situation : but Park's temporary inactivity must be accounted for on other grounds ; and these will be found in his decided predilection for that path of adventure which he had already trode with such distinguished success, and which he still fondly hoped would, at no distant period, conduct him to that object which he so eagerly wished to attain. These hopes were kept alive by a negotiation into which he entered with Government about this time, relative to some public situation in New South Wales. This

appointment, whatever was its nature, appears to have been offered to Park, and to have been by him declined. About this time an offer was also made to him by his friend, Mr Bryan Edwards, who had property in the West Indies, and wished to avail himself of Park's services, but this he likewise declined. His principal hope rested on his connection with the African Association, and on the probability of his being employed, either directly by that body, or by Government through their recommendation, to conduct, with increased means, an enterprise similar in its object to that in which he was formerly engaged. At one time, this hope seemed to be in a fair way of being realized.

The late capture of Goree appeared to offer a favourable opportunity for opening a direct communication with the interior of Africa ; and Park seems to have expected, that either Government or the Association would avail itself of an event so favourable for the purpose of discovery. He accordingly wrote to his friend and patron, Sir Joseph Banks, pointing out the advantages presented by the recent conquest for carrying into effect the object which the Association had principally at heart, but for which they were now anxious to obtain the co-operation of Government. Park, also, was of opinion, that Government patronage was necessary for ensuring success to any future expedition ; and, in his letter to Sir

Joseph, which is dated July 31st, 1800, he says, "If such are the views of Government, I hope that my exertions in some station or other may be of use to my country. I have not as yet found any situation in which I could practise to advantage as a surgeon; and unless some of my friends interest themselves in my behalf, I must wait patiently until the cloud which hangs over my future prospects is dispelled." From this letter, it is evident that he did not wish to consider his connection with the Association as finally ended, and that he still lived in the expectation of being summoned, through his scientific friends, to assist in some employment more congenial to his taste than the trifling cares of a small farm, or the troublesome duties of a country practitioner. For his profession, indeed, he appears never, except in his early choice of it, to have entertained any partiality; and the adventures in which he had lately been engaged, and which, instead of satiating, seem only, by indulging, to have added new vigour to his love of enterprise, had changed his original indifference to his profession into positive and strong disgust. But time passed on, and the fulfilment of his hope appeared to be as distant as ever. He, therefore, at length perceived the prudence of looking out for some more certain means of providing for a wife and family than the precarious patronage of the African Association; and whatever repugnance he had to resuming

medical practice, he now felt, that to overcome this reluctance was a duty which, as a husband and a father, he ought no longer to neglect.

Urged by this consideration, and by the importunity of his friends, he at length resolved to avail himself of an opening which presented itself in the neighbouring town of Peebles. The medical practice of this place had, for some time previous, been engrossed by two very respectable surgeons, Mr James Reid, and his half-brother, Mr Robert Marshall. Upon the death of the latter, in 1800, Park, accompanied by his father-in-law, Mr Anderson, waited on Mr Reid, who offered to receive him as partner in his business on the same footing which his deceased brother had occupied, namely, that Park should take an equal share in the *riding*, and should be entitled to a third share of the profits. This proposal Park at once declined, and refused to enter into the connection except upon terms of perfect equality. The negotiation, accordingly, broke off; and Park, in the commercial phrase, commenced business for himself.

CHAPTER V.

Park settles at Peebles as a Surgeon — Negotiation with Government about a second Journey to Africa — Interrupted — Renewed — He prepares for his Journey—His Instructions.

THE celebrity which Park had obtained by his travels, made it no difficult matter for him to obtain an easy footing in the best families of his new neighbourhood ; and his quiet unobtrusive manners, joined with his professional skill and general intelligence, soon secured him the esteem of all classes.

The late Sir John Hay, who then resided, with his family, at King's Meadows, paid him great attention, and welcomed him to his table, where he frequently met with distinguished guests, capable of appreciating and enjoying his society. He also enjoyed the acquaintance of Sir James Montgomery, and of several others of the local aristocracy, most of whom employed him in his professional capacity. He enrolled himself a member of the troop of yeomanry which Sir James commanded ; and yielded to none of his comrades in that ardent spirit of loyalty which

has always distinguished the true-hearted farmers of Tweeddale, and which at that time blazed fiercely over the whole land, under the excitement of an apprehended French invasion. On this occasion, Park put his muse under contribution, and produced the following patriotic song, which he sung when the troop to which he belonged was in quarters; and which, though possessing no very great merit as a composition, was received with unbounded enthusiasm by his loyal comrades, at a time when every patriotic Briton felt himself bound to hate the French with a perfect hatred.

SONG FOR THE TWEEDDALE CAVALRY.

BY MUNGO PARK.

TUNE, — "*Willie was a wanton wag.*" ;

I.

OUR ancestors in many a field,
 With heart and hand, their swords did draw :
 In freedom's cause they wadna yield,
 And with their blood they wrote our law.
 And shall we, their descendants, now,
 Shall we behave like bastards a' ?
 Shall we our necks to slavery bow,
 Whilst we have hands our swords to draw ?

II.

Must we obey our foes' command ?
 Must we yield up our precious law,
 Our native homes, our native land,
 Our friends, and our relations a' ?

No, no,*— it never shall be said !
 We 'll sooner perish, great and sma' .
 We 'd better in our graves be laid
 Than stand and see our country fa'.

III.

But freedom fair will ne'er forsake
 The sons of Caledonia :
 What Roman courage couldna shake
 May laugh at blust'ring Frenchmen a'.
 United let us draw our swords ;
 United let us stand or fa' :
 Let Gallia land her savage hordes,
 United we shall bang them a'.*

Park had now fairly commenced the disagreeable duties of a country surgeon, and soon secured a fair share of such practice as the place could afford. This, however, was by no means either very extensive or very lucrative. Peebles, itself, is a small town, without either trade or manufactures of any importance, and occupied principally by retail dealers, who depend entirely on the custom of their country neighbourhood.

* For this curious production, which was never before published, and which, so far as I know, is the only specimen which can now be found of Park's poetry, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Thomas Smibert, of Peebles, to whom, also, I have to acknowledge my obligation for several particulars regarding Park during this period of his life. The song is given from a copy, taken in 1804, by Mr Cairns, writer, a very intimate friend of Park ; but it was composed at an earlier date.

It is situated in the very midst of a pastoral district, which, however pleasing to the eye of the amateur tourist, offers few charms to the medical practitioner, who, to secure a chance of a decent livelihood, must extend, by bad roads, or no roads at all, his range over an extensive and thinly peopled district, where the natives are often too poor to pay for the attendance which their wants require.

The duties of a country practitioner are so well described by Sir Walter Scott, in the following extract, that the reader will easily pardon the quotation, particularly as it applies exactly to the circumstances in which Park found himself placed during his residence at Peebles.

“Such a rural man of medicine is usually the inhabitant of some petty borough or village, which forms the central point of his practice. But besides attending to such cases as the village may afford, he is day and night at the service of every one who may command his assistance within a circle of forty miles in diameter, untraversed by roads in many directions, and including moors, mountains, rivers, and lakes. For late and dangerous journeys through an inaccessible country, for services of the most essential kind, rendered at the expense, or risk at least, of his own health and life, the Scottish village doctor receives at best a very moderate recompense, often one which is totally inadequate,

and very frequently none whatsoever. He has none of the ample resources proper to the brothers of the profession in an English town. The burgesses of a Scottish borough are rendered, by their limited means of luxury, inaccessible to gout, surfeits, and all the comfortable chronic diseases, which are attendant on wealth and indolence. Four years, or so, of abstemiousness, enable them to stand an election dinner; and there is no hope of broken heads among a score or two of quiet electors, who settle the business over a table.* There the mothers of the state never make a point of pouring, in the course of every revolving year, a certain quantity of doctor's stuff through the bowels of their beloved children. Every old woman, from the Townhead to the Townfit, can prescribe a dose of salts, or spread a plaster; and it is only when a fever or a palsy renders matters serious, that the assistance of the doctor is invoked by his neighbours in the borough.

“ But still the man of science cannot complain of inactivity or want of practice. If he does not find patients at his door, he seeks them through a wide circle. Like the ghostly lover of Leonora, he mounts at midnight, and traverses in darkness paths which, to those less accustomed to them,

* Matters are now altered; and Scotchmen shew no disinclination to engage in election riots, any more than their southern neighbours.

seem formidable in daylight, through straits where the slightest aberration would plunge him into a morass, or throw him over a precipice, on to cabins which his horse might ride over without knowing they lay in his way, unless he happened to fall through the roofs. When he arrives at such a stately termination of his journey, where his services are required, either to bring a wretch into the world, or prevent one from leaving it, the scene of misery is often such, that, far from touching the hard saved shillings which are gratefully offered to him, he bestows his medicines as well as his attendance — for charity. I have heard the celebrated traveller Mungo Park, who had experienced both courses of life, rather give the preference to travelling as a discoverer in Africa, than to wandering, by night and day, the wilds of his native land in the capacity of a country medical practitioner. He mentioned having, once upon a time, rode forty miles, sat up all night, and successfully assisted a woman under influence of the primitive curse, for which his sole remuneration was a roasted potatoe and a draught of butter milk. But his was not the heart which grudged the labour that relieved human misery. In short, there is no creature in Scotland that works harder and is more poorly requited than the country doctor, unless, perhaps, it may be his horse. Yet the horse is, and, indeed, must be, hardy, active, and indefatigable,

were ever liable to be unpleasantly interrupted in spite of a rough coat and indifferent condition ; and so you will often find in his master, under an unpromising and blunt exterior, professional skill and enthusiasm, intelligence, humanity, courage, and science."*

It must be mentioned, to the honour of the profession, that the praise here bestowed on its members is, in general, well merited, and that calls upon their humanity, though often attended with much personal inconvenience, and seldom accompanied with immediate advantage, are scarcely ever neglected. There is, perhaps, no class of professional men in which we shall find such numerous instances of prompt and disinterested benevolence. Park, certainly, was not an exception to this character. Naturally of a generous and compassionate disposition, his own experience had taught him deep sympathy with the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and not only made him sacrifice his own ease at the call of duty, but frequently induced him to reject the hard-earned pittance, which could scarcely be called remuneration, but which, nevertheless, was comparatively much to offer, for those who had little to give. This liberal disposition, while it materially added to his labour, diminished the gains of his practice so much as scarcely to leave him a bare livelihood.

* *Chronicles of the Canongate*, vol. ii, pp. 29-33.

In this respect, however, he only experienced the usual difficulties which members of his profession have to encounter in their first attempts at establishing a practice in a country neighbourhood; while in other respects, he stood upon higher ground than the generality of his professional brethren. His Travels had already given him a status, both as a respectable literary character, and as a man of enterprising spirit; he was personally known to, and esteemed by some of the leading men of science in England; the extent of his information, and his unassuming manners, made his acquaintance agreeable to the gentlemen of his own neighbourhood; and the place of his temporary residence was sufficiently near Selkirk, where he had spent his earlier years, and had many connections and friends, to leave him in the full enjoyment of the same simple habits, the same pastoral scenes, and the old familiar faces among which he had grown up and formed his own character.

But his unconquerable aversion to the quiet drudgery of such a life, made its duties intolerably irksome—his heart was still amid the deserts of Africa, and his imagination carried him over its burning sands to track to its termination the course of the Great River, with which he felt that his name was already inseparably linked, and whose mighty waters were yet destined to bear him on to new discoveries; but these dreams

by the realities of his present situation, where his toils were felt to be the more grievous because borne in obscurity. As a traveller, he had encountered fatigue and danger with the ardour of a generous race-horse with the winning post in view ; he now resembled the same animal condemned to the mill, treading the same unvaried round, and his mettle curbed to the same unvarying pace. How intolerably irksome such a life must have been to an ardent and enterprising spirit like Park's, may be inferred from his own acknowledgment, already alluded to in the extract from Sir Walter Scott, when, on the eve of his second journey, in answer to a friend who was endeavouring to dissuade him from the dangerous attempt, he observed, that "he had suffered more fatigue and danger in the course of two years' inglorious practice at Peebles, than during all his wanderings in Africa." That ardour which readily reconciles us to the difficulties, and overlooks the dangers, attending some favourite pursuit, no longer supported him in his new course of life : the duties of the profession to which he now saw himself condemned, apparently for life, he had always disliked ; and though neither his principles nor his interest permitted him to neglect his practice, he could not overcome his original disgust, which, of course, greatly exaggerated the difficulties and annoyances incident to his situation. His thoughts were still occupied with African

adventure : he, therefore, bore with great impatience the drudgery of duties, from which, in his present situation, he could reap little either of fame or of fortune ; and to which, even in circumstances the most favourable, he could have felt no very strong attachment.

During his residence at Peebles, Park had an opportunity of forming many agreeable acquaintances, and some with individuals too eminent in our national literature to have their names passed over in silence. Dr Adam Fergusson, formerly professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, and author of a *History of the Roman Republic*, was then residing at Hallyards, within half an hour's ride of Peebles. At his house Park was a frequent and welcome guest, and had often an opportunity of meeting there with members of that distinguished literary circle in which his venerable friend had long moved. Mr Dugald Stewart, who succeeded Dr Fergusson in the Moral Philosophy chair, and whose well known work, *The Philosophy of the Human Mind*, has placed his name high on the list of ethical writers, was another of those whose flattering attentions Park justly regarded as a valuable distinction : nor among his more distinguished friends, though their acquaintance did not commence till the summer before Park's return to Africa, must we omit the name of Sir Walter Scott, who, though at that time little known, was

destined soon to eclipse the fame of the most gifted of his contemporaries. Such acquaintances Park probably owed, in the first place, to the reputation which he had earned by the publication of his Travels ; but the fact of acquaintance having in all these cases strengthened into permanent regard, is to be ascribed to his amiable character and unobtrusive manners, and is the more honourable that his friends were men not more remarkable for their admiration of genius, than for their appreciation of private worth. Under all the depression of his present situation, so little congenial to his enterprising spirit, Park was not insensible to the honour of attracting the notice of men so eminently gifted in intellect, and he always acknowledged that the acquisition of such friendships was the most precious reward of his past exertions.

But he had also formed humbler friendships, which, if valued less as a mark of distinction, he appears to have enjoyed still more than the intellectual society just mentioned. He had no love of what is called *low* company : both his taste and his good principles restrained him from mixing willingly with worthless and dissipated characters : but he always entertained a strong partiality for that class with which he was most familiar in early life, the respectable burgesses of the town, and the country farmers of the neighbourhood. In some respects, indeed, he was

elevated far above the humble sphere in which his companions moved; his delicacy of feeling and the general character of his mind, qualified him for the society of the learned and the high born; but his manner had lost little of its native homeliness, and his heart had lost nothing of its early attachment to the blunt address and broad *patois* under which may so frequently be detected the warm heartedness and superior shrewdness of the Scottish borderer. With such companions Park threw off, in a great measure, his natural reserve, and became gay, jovial, and talkative upon every subject except his own adventures. His instinctive delicacy seemed, upon all occasions, to shrink from the task of ministering to the vulgar appetite for the wonderful; and his personal modesty made him draw back from every attempt at drawing him out in the character of a new Othello, as the historian of his hair-breadth 'scapes and strange adventures. It was only within the sacred circle of his own family, or to a friend like Sir Walter Scott, whose delicate frankness and congenial tastes rendered reserve altogether unnecessary, that he loved to dwell on the perils he had undergone and the hopes which he yet cherished of future enterprise in the field which he felt to be peculiarly his own. Even that mirth which he freely indulged in the company of his acquaintance, the presence of a single stranger never failed to interrupt; and he was always most

cheerful when the company was limited to one or two individuals.

Among his particular cronies at Peebles, was Mr Oman, the retired master of the Grammar School, in whose house he lodged for some time after he had commenced practice. Mr Oman had some pretensions to science, and in addition to some valuable works on the subject which his library contained, he had a few philosophical instruments, and among the rest an excellent telescope, through which Park was very fond of taking a peep at the planets. Here the gentleman, to whose kindness we are indebted for some interesting information regarding Park's habits, frequently met with him; and as they were both fond of star-gazing, they used to take lessons together in astronomy from Mr Oman, and afterwards adjourned with him to a public house in the neighbourhood, where they "treated him to a glass of strong ale, his favourite drink. Mr Park's conversation," continues my informant, "as far as I was able to judge, was that of a well informed man on all subjects, though not very communicative; and particularly shy when his Travels were introduced, — very fond of a good joke."

About this time he appears to have resumed with ardour his botanical studies, in the prospect of being appointed, through the interest of his friend, Sir Joseph Banks, successor

to the late Dr Rutherford, professor of Botany in the University of Edinburgh. With this view, he employed much of his time in translating from the French some botanical lectures, which he intended to make the groundwork of his future prelections.* But this appointment did not take place.

In September, 1803, Mr Reid, who had hitherto divided with him the medical practice of the neighbourhood, died, leaving him the field clear of opposition ; at least of any which he could reckon very formidable. He had already established for himself a good reputation and a fair practice, and he had now an excellent prospect of being fully employed : but another, and to him, more pleasing prospect had a little before this time been opened to his view. Although he had, after long delay, and with much reluctance, resumed the practice of his profession, Park had never entirely relinquished his favourite scheme of revisiting Africa, and in the autumn of 1803, his wishes, in this respect, appeared to be in a fair way of being gratified. A letter addressed to him, from the office of the Secretary for the Colonies, required his immediate attendance in London ; and on his arrival, he had an interview with Lord Hobart, then Colonial Secretary, who informed him that Government had it in contemplation to send an expedition to Africa, for the purpose of

* Communicated by Mrs Park.

discovery, and proposed that he should take a principal part in it. A similar project had been entertained some time before by the African Association, which was afterwards abandoned, probably in consequence of the inadequacy of their funds to fit out an expedition on a scale sufficiently extensive to secure it a fair chance of success; but there is reason to believe that it was at their suggestion that Government adopted the idea, and that it was at their recommendation that Park was selected to conduct it. Certainly no man was better qualified, both by his knowledge of the country, its climate and inhabitants, which he had acquired in his former adventure, or by his general character, for this arduous and important enterprise; nor could the proposal have been made to any one who was more likely to accept it with delight. Such an expedition had been his day-dream ever since his visit to that barbarous region. His mind had pictured to him discoveries of the most important nature, which would essentially benefit his native country, and perhaps transmit his name to future ages as a benefactor to mankind. But, however sanguine in his expectations, his was not a mind to overlook the many difficulties which opposed themselves to the fulfilment of his hopes. His former experience taught him that it was no easy undertaking to penetrate into a country where he had, at every step, to encounter the unhealthiness

of a tropical climate, and the hostility, or, at best, suspicious jealousy of savage men. He had, accordingly, reflected much on such precautions as might be adopted against the former, and such means as prudence could suggest for securing the confidence and good will, or, at least, the forbearance of the latter.

Thus prepared, beforehand, to contemplate the subject in its various bearings, he could have no difficulty in at once consenting to Lord Hobart's proposal that he should accept the command of the expedition. He, however, requested permission to consult his friends before giving a decided answer; though, in his own mind, he already exulted in the prospect of his fondest hopes being then, at last, on the point of being realized. After a short visit to Scotland, where he went through the form of consulting his friends, he announced to the Colonial Secretary his acceptance of the part assigned him in the proposed expedition, and hastened back to London to superintend the arrangements for his journey. He left Scotland in December, and expected to set sail in a few weeks at farthest for the coast of Africa. It appeared, however, that in his own eagerness to embark, he had neglected to make sufficient allowance for the delays of office; for on his arrival in town he had the mortification to find that it was still uncertain when the proper arrangements could be completed. At length,

after considerable delay, it was determined that the expedition should sail from Portsmouth about the end of February. But when this period arrived, he discovered, that not only new delays were to be interposed, but the whole scheme was in danger of being finally abandoned, in consequence of important political changes which were then in contemplation.

The Addington Administration had never obtained the confidence of the country. It owed its existence to the general desire of obtaining a peace with France, which the Minister who had so long directed the councils of Great Britain was too proud to solicit, and which eventually proved of very short duration. Mr Addington had neither talents nor party influence sufficient to secure permanent possession of the situation to which he had been elevated for a temporary purpose. He had hitherto continued in office by the sufferance of Mr Pitt; but when the removal of hostilities with France, and the alarming illness of the King, demanded a steadier and more skilful hand to manage the helm, a change of Ministry took place, and Mr Pitt was now called to occupy the post of honour, when it again became the post of danger. The expedition with which Park was connected had been appointed to sail from Portsmouth towards the end of February; but about the beginning of that month the Ministry was thrown into considerable embarrassment

by the King's illness, which continued till the end of March, and Mr Pitt's appointment as First Commissioner of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, was gazetted early in May. Amid the confusion attending these changes, which involved many matters of greater, or at least more immediate importance, the African expedition was countermanded, though the stores were ready for embarking, and some troops, destined to the service, were actually on board. This was a severe disappointment to Park, particularly as it now became doubtful whether the expedition would proceed at all, this matter being entirely referred to the new Secretary for the Colonies.

As it seemed very improbable, however, that a scheme of this kind, having no reference to party politics, would be permanently abandoned on account of a change of Ministry, or rather of Premiers—for Pitt, on returning to office, retained a majority of Mr Addington's cabinet—Park was advised, by some influential person in the Colonial Office, to apply himself diligently, in the meanwhile, to the acquisition of some branches of knowledge, which might prove useful to him in the event of his proceeding to Africa; and the advice was accompanied with a promise that Government would defray any reasonable expenses which he might incur in acquiring such knowledge. This proposal was of too advantageous

a nature, and too agreeable to his own eager desire of securing every means by which the great object of his ambition might be attained, to be rejected by Park.† †As he had been given to understand that the expedition could not at all events sail before September, he resolved to spend the interval in Scotland, and to occupy himself with astronomical observations, and in obtaining a competent knowledge of Arabic. As his instructor in that language, he engaged Sidi Omback Boubi, a native of Mogadore, who was then residing in London, and who had acted in the capacity of interpreter between the British army in Egypt and Elphi Bey, one of the native chiefs who joined our arms against the French, and was ambassador from the Mamelukes of Cairo. Omback afterwards accompanied Elphi Bey to England, and was residing in London when Park engaged him to go with him to Scotland. They arrived at Peebles early in March, and remained there for about ten weeks. Park then removed his whole establishment to his brother's farm, Fowlshiels, where he continued earnestly engaged in such preparatory studies as might best qualify him for prosecuting with advantage the arduous enterprize which he had before him.

Park's learned companion, Sidi Omback, was nearly as great an object of curiosity to the good folks of Peebles as Park himself had been in the camp of Ali, or on the banks of the Niger. A

sturdy Mussulman, he was very punctual in repeating the stated prayers, and attending to all the other observances of his religion. He would eat no meat but what was killed by himself, for which purpose he regularly went to the market, and astonished the blue-sleeve fraternity by his novel method of exercising their craft. He first turned the head of the animal he was about to slaughter to the east, then, after a short prayer, cut off its head after the Jewish fashion, rejecting the blood as unclean. He religiously abstained from drinking either wine or spirits, and so strict was he in his obedience to the Prophet's prohibition, that he was once seriously offended with Park for offering him some pudding in which there was brandy. He had much faith in dreams, and upon one occasion was greatly distressed by dreaming that his mother was dead. This dream he communicated to Park, insisting that it would prove true; and some time after intelligence of the event actually arrived, which at once established Omback's reputation as a seer among the natives of Tweeddale, many of whom were scarcely less attached to this species of superstition than the honest Moor himself. Another feature in Omback's character, with which his neighbours had less sympathy, was his strong aversion to prints and paintings; and he was once on the point of stabbing a young man, from Selkirk, who happened to be on a visit at Fowlshiels, and whom

the enraged Moor surprised in the very act of taking a sketch of his own outlandish figure. Altogether, Sidi Ombak Boubi created no small sensation in the neighbourhood of Peebles and Selkirk during his short residence there; and many stories are still told of his peculiar habits and superstitious observances. In other respects he was an intelligent and worthy man; speaking English so as to be easily understood; conversing freely with those whose curiosity induced them to cultivate his acquaintance; and choleric only when his religious prejudices were in question. Park had a great regard for him, and was extremely anxious to take him with him to Africa: to this, however, he would by no means consent; and he constantly affirmed that Park himself would never return.*

It was during his residence at Fowlshiels, that he became acquainted with the late Sir Walter Scott, who then resided with his family at the farm house of Ashiesteil, a name which has since obtained celebrity, as connected with some of the happiest efforts of his genius. Mr Scott had the merit of making the first advances to acquaintance with his more reserved neighbour, who was extremely shy of encouraging the intimacy of those, to whom his fame made him an object of interest. But in the present instance, there was no danger of a repulse. The attention

* Communicated by Mr Smibert.

of such a man as Scott, was too flattering to be received with coldness, and his society too valuable not to be courted with eagerness by every one capable of appreciating it. Their acquaintance was soon converted, by the freemasonry of genius, into habitual and confidential intercourse. Their residences were sufficiently near to constitute neighbourhood in a pastoral country, where a few miles distance is never allowed to interrupt the frequency of friendly intercourse among its scattered population: mutual admiration was the necessary result of a more intimate knowledge of each other's character, and a happy coincidence in taste, on the subject of Border minstrelsy, served to complete a friendship, which in the course of a few months had advanced, by rapid strides, from mere acquaintance to the warmest attachment.

Park was a great lover of poetry, and had even been a writer of verses in his youth. Of the merit of these early productions, we have, except in the specimen already quoted, no means of forming an opinion; but it cannot be denied by any one acquainted with his character, as developed in his own journal, that he possessed some parts of the poetical temperament in a very eminent degree. Of the rude but romantic songs of Border chivalry, he was an enthusiastic admirer; and in Scott he met with one whose ardent admiration of this species of

literature corresponded with his own, and who was admirably qualified, both from the stores of his memory, and the inexhaustible resources of his own genius, to contribute largely to the gratification of his appetite for tales of romance and chivalrous daring. Park, again, had it in his power to satisfy the curiosity of his friend, upon subjects connected with Africa; and frequently enlivened their walks with the relation of adventures, of which no mention is made in his published Travels. As many of these appeared to Mr Scott extremely interesting, he was at a loss to account for their omission, as he had implicit confidence in Park's veracity, and there was no apparent reason for depriving the public of what must have contributed greatly to the interest of his narrative. On questioning his friend on this subject, he received the following reply: "In every case," said Park, "where I had information to communicate, which I thought of importance to the public, I have stated the facts boldly, leaving it to my readers to give such credit to my statements as they may appear justly to deserve; but I was unwilling to shock their credulity, or render my Travels more marvellous, by introducing circumstances which, however true, are of little moment, as they relate solely to my own personal adventures and escapes." In adopting such a course, Park displayed a prudence which, however much we may regret the suppression of

interesting information which it is impossible now to recover, we cannot blame. He had probably before his eyes the fate of Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, whose narrative, though since confirmed in almost every essential point, was for a long time discredited, in consequence of the marvellous details with which it abounded. Park was well aware of the value of a character for veracity, especially to a traveller whose journey lay in a distant land, hitherto untraversed by any European, and when his assertion alone is our only security for the truth of his representations: he, therefore, judiciously resolved not only to contain himself within the bounds of strict truth, but, in so far as he might do it without depriving the public of any important information, of withholding all that might excite suspicion. It were to be wished that so laudable a caution were more generally adopted by authors of his class; and that travellers, in their anxiety to amuse, were not so apt to prefer the style of the novelist to that of the historian. To the same cautious regard for the weight of his narrative, we are to ascribe the unwillingness with which he submitted to those indirect questions, with which people often, from a principle of delicacy, endeavour to elicit information. Though never very communicative, except to his intimate friends, he readily answered any direct question that was put to him about any

particular part of his Travels ; but he complained much of the annoyance of being expected to satisfy interrogatories, which, to escape the imputation of rudeness, were frequently either too obscure to be easily apprehended, or too vague to admit of a specific answer. " This practice," he remarked, " exposed him to two risks, either that he might not understand the questions meant to be put, or that his own answers might be misconstrued ; and in either case, what he said was likely to be reported inaccurately." He used to contrast with this false delicacy, the conduct of Dr Adam Fergusson, who, the first day on which Park dined with him at Hallyards, spread a large map of Africa before him, and made him trace out his journey, inch by inch, questioning him minutely as to every part of the expedition, and expecting distinct and precise answers to each inquiry. It has been justly observed, however, that this was using a privilege, to which Dr Fergusson was entitled, by his age and literary eminence, but which could not, without impropriety, have been exercised by any common stranger.

During this last residence at Fowlshiels, Park's thoughts were so entirely occupied with his African journey, as to betray the secret of his soul in his very amusements. His friend Scott calling for him one day, and not finding him at home, walked in search of him along the banks of the Yarrow, which is there a romantic stream running among

rocks, and forming frequent eddies and deep pools. He at length discovered the traveller amusing himself with plunging large stones into the water, and watching, with anxious attention, the bubbles as they rose to the surface. On being asked why he was so earnestly engaged in this apparently childish occupation, he replied, "This was the manner in which I used to ascertain the depth of a river in Africa, before I ventured to cross it, judging whether the attempt would be safe, by the time which the bubbles of air took to ascend." It was as yet somewhat uncertain whether a second mission was to proceed to Africa; but the incident just related satisfied Scott that his friend was already contemplating new discoveries, in the scene of his former labours; and his suspicions were soon verified.

When about to leave Scotland for the last time, Park paid a farewell visit to Sir Walter Scott, at Ashesteil, where he remained all night. Next morning, Scott accompanied his guest part of the way to Fowlshiels, and as they rode across the chain of low hills which divide the Tweed from the Yarrow, Park talked much of his new African expedition. Scott, too anxious for the personal safety of his friend to be able to sympathize in his enthusiasm, could not help pressing upon him the dangers to which he was about once more to expose himself. They were then on the summit of William-hope Ridge, which overlooks

the course of the Yarrow. A thick autumnal mist concealed the river, and, extending over the lower ground, was creeping slowly up the hill, from which the friends endeavoured in vain to catch any feature of the valley which lay before them. In this the traveller saw nothing but a common appearance of a September morning; but the vivid imagination of his companion converted it into an emblem of the dim uncertain prospects of that enterprise which had formed the theme of their discourse. But though little disposed himself to give way to feelings of despondence, Park was so much afraid of encountering the distress of his family at parting with them under such trying circumstances, that he communicated to Scott his intention of proceeding directly to London from Edinburgh, without returning to bid them a formal adieu.

In the course of conversation, Scott suggested the danger of travelling with such a military escort as was now contemplated, which must prove quite insufficient for serious defence, in case of open hostility, and yet was formidable enough to excite suspicion. Park obviated this objection by describing the actual state of African polity. The country being sub-divided into a great many petty kingdoms, whose boundaries were soon traversed, and whose governments were too jealous of each other to form any extensive combination against him, rendered it improbable that his progress

would be interrupted by any force, which could not be easily overcome by a small band of well-appointed European soldiers. Besides, the almost universal practice in those countries, of travelling in kaffilas or caravans, had accustomed the natives to witness more numerous expeditions than the one now proposed, without any apprehension; and therefore it was unlikely to excite any serious suspicion on account of its mere numbers, which, however, would be quite sufficient to protect it from the insolence of straggling parties, and the shameless exactions of petty governors. These reasons for preferring an armed expedition to mere individual enterprise, appear conclusive; though the accidental failure of that with which Park himself was afterwards connected, excited a prejudice against such a mode of proceeding, which has not even yet entirely subsided.

As the friends, thus engaged in interesting conversation, had arrived at the spot where they had agreed to separate, a slight circumstance occurred which deserves to be noticed, as it discovers the feelings by which at the moment their minds were respectively occupied, and perhaps it may also be considered as characteristic of the two individuals. In crossing a small ditch, which divided the moor from the road, Park's horse stumbled and nearly fell. "I am afraid, Mungo," said Scott, "that is a bad

omen ;” to which Park gaily replied, “ Freits follow those who look to them ;”^{*} and riding away without a formal adieu, he was soon out of sight. Scott’s fine imagination seems frequently to have yielded itself up a willing slave to the influence of superstition ; while Park’s more ardent temperament led him to disregard every thing but the real dangers of his enterprise, and the most effectual means of overcoming them.

The new ministerial arrangements were completed in May, and Lord Camden, who had succeeded Lord Hobart as Secretary for the Colonies, proving favourable to the object of the projected expedition, Park received, early in September, a letter from the under Secretary, commanding his immediate presence at the Colonial Office, where he had a satisfactory interview with Lord Camden. His lordship had previously expressed his wish that Park would furnish him with a written statement of his views with regard, *first*, to the objects to which his attention would be chiefly directed ; *second*, the means necessary

* This proverbial expression occurs in the old Border ballad of *Edom of Gordon*, whence most probably Park took it, —

Thame luiks to freits, my master dear,
Their freits will follow them.

Omens of ill-luck will follow those who pay attention to them.

for accomplishing his journey; and, *third*, the manner in which he proposed to carry the plans of Government into execution. Park had accordingly employed part of his leisure, during the summer, in drawing up a memoir,* containing his views upon all these subjects, and this memoir he now delivered to Lord Camden. With regard to the objects of his journey, he stated them generally to be “the extension of British commerce, and the enlargement of our geographical knowledge.” As to the means necessary for accomplishing the journey, he proposed that the expedition should consist of thirty European soldiers, six carpenters, fifteen or twenty Goree Negroes, besides fifty asses, and six horses or mules; and he added a list of arms and articles of dress for the men, tools, &c. for building two boats on the Niger, and toys and merchandise for purchasing provisions, and making presents to the native princes. He added a brief but circumstantial account of the manner in which he proposed to carry the plans of Government into execution, till he should arrive at the kingdom of Wangara, where all geographical trace of the river is lost, and whence, of course, the farther proceedings of the expedition must be guided entirely by circumstances;

* As this paper formed the basis of his official instructions on leaving England, we have thought proper to insert it at length in the Appendix.

and he concluded by stating some reasons for believing that the Niger took a southerly direction before its termination, and might prove to be the river Congo ; in which case he proposed to embark with his companions on board a slave vessel, and return to England by way of St Helena, or the West Indies.

It is worthy of remark, that in the opinion here hazarded, as to the direction which the Niger takes before its termination, we have the first hint of what more recent discovery has found to be the fact. Park's supposition that it joined the Congo is, indeed, incorrect ; but its southerly course has since been satisfactorily traced, and its termination in the Atlantic ascertained by the Landers. The great error into which Park fell, in common with all who speculated about the course of the Niger, was the extremely natural one of supposing, that a great river must necessarily increase in magnitude towards its termination. Accordingly they sought all along the coast of Africa for a proper *debouchement* for so great a mass of water, and successively fixed upon almost every stream of any magnitude, from the Congo to the Nile, for no better reason than that it must end somewhere, and these were conceived to be the only mouths of sufficient magnitude for its discharge. The idea of its separation into several smaller streams, before it reached the sea, which we now know to be the

fact, does not appear to have been ever seriously entertained, though the termination of the mighty Nile itself might have suggested this solution.

It may be proper to mention, that the idea of the Niger's terminating in the Congo, was first suggested to Park by Mr Maxwell, a gentleman who was for many years captain of a vessel engaged in the African trade, and who had long entertained that opinion. The publication of Park's Travels confirmed him in his conjecture; and in some communications which he had with the traveller, during the residence of the latter in Scotland, he succeeded in impressing him with the probability of his theory. Park himself was dissatisfied with Major Rennell's notion, that the waters of the Niger were evaporated in the imaginary lake of Wangara; and without actually denying the existence of this lake, he thought it highly probable, that the river at length assumed a southerly direction, and communicated with the Atlantic: he, therefore, eagerly adopted the solution suggested by Captain Maxwell, since the Congo, or Zaire, from its size, seemed the most proper outlet for this mysterious stream. For the reasons upon which Mr Maxwell founded his conjecture, the reader may consult his letter in the appendix to this volume.

Lord Camden expressed himself highly satisfied with the views contained in this memoir; and in an interview which he had soon after with

Mr Park, acquainted him with the resolution of Government to act upon his suggestion. At the same time he wished him to submit his plan to Major Rennell, and consult with him upon the subject; particularly as regarded the opinion which he had given about the course and termination of the Niger. Major Rennell was at that time residing at Brighton, and thither Park proceeded immediately, with the hope of procuring his approbation of the plan, which he had so carefully matured, and which he had now the near prospect of carrying into execution. But Major Rennell was far from sympathizing with his friend's enthusiasm. This distinguished geographer saw many objections to the plan of proceeding sketched by Park, and his friendship greatly magnified the dangers to be encountered on the journey. His own theory of the course and termination of the river, namely, as running into the lake of Wangara, whence its waters were carried off by evaporation,* was not only opposed to the course given it by Park, but had been formed from a careful comparison of the discoveries made by Park himself in his former journey, and the various accounts of its progress beyond Haussa. He was, therefore, prepared resolutely to combat every argument which was now

* See Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i. p. 533.

advanced in favour of the Niger communicating with the sea—a supposition without which Park himself must have been satisfied, that return to his native country would be all but hopeless. Upon the whole, Major Rennell decidedly disapproved of the expedition, and earnestly dissuaded his friend from embarking on an enterprise from which he could expect only difficulty, danger, and disappointment. The arguments and objections of so eminent a geographer, urged with all the warmth of disinterested friendship, somewhat staggered Park's resolution. But the impression only lasted while Major Rennell's presence and friendly earnestness gave weight to his arguments, and Park returned to London with a determination to allow no doubts or difficulties to deter him from the prosecution of his favourite enterprise.

Occasion has been taken from the unfortunate result of this second journey, to accuse Park of imprudent rashness, for persisting in an undertaking, which many of his warmest friends, and these, too, the best qualified to judge in such a case, had thus from the commencement characterized as hopeless; and Major Rennell, and those other friends who dissuaded him from attempting it, have obtained great credit for their foresight in predicting its disastrous issue. But in defence of the adventurous traveller, it must be observed that his failure did not proceed from any of the obstacles which those "prophets of evil"

considered as insuperable ; but, as we shall have occasion to point out, from a cause entirely accidental, upon which neither he nor they had any right to calculate. As to their vague apprehensions of uncertain dangers and unknown casualties, they had little merit in predicting them, and no right to expect that they should alter the resolution of that gallant adventurer, who knew from the commencement that he had undertaken an enterprise of danger, and had already made up his mind to encounter its difficulties. Their objections to the present expedition savoured too much of vague apprehension, to form any just ground for Park abandoning what to his own mind appeared sufficiently feasible ; and most of their objections would have applied as well to every enterprise in which danger may be encountered, and of which the success is uncertain. In short, their objections were of that safe general kind, tendered by Hotspur's pusillanimous friend, — “ The purpose you undertake is dangerous, the time itself unsorted, and your whole plot too light for the counterpoise of so great an opposition ;” and Park was as little likely as the gallant Percy himself, to yield to suggestions, originating at least as much in timidity as in prudence. He had already sufficient experience, both of the difficulties of African travelling, and of his own resources to meet them. Such enterprises as his are to be judged of, not so

much by their character of dangerous, as by the importance of the object to be attained; and Park, though perfectly aware of the obstacles to be overcome, and the danger to be encountered before he could bring his adventure to a successful issue, thought all this more than counterbalanced by the reputation to be gained from the attempt, and the advantages which he might be the means of ultimately securing to the commercial enterprise of his country.

In these sentiments he was confirmed by the opinion of his friend and constant patron, Sir Joseph Banks, who expressed his unqualified approbation of Park's arrangements, and had all along entertained great hopes of a scheme, which, with the advantage of being supported by Government, and conducted by a man of approved firmness and sagacity, gave, in his opinion, a fairer promise of success than any expedition that had yet been projected for similar purposes. With his own confidence of success thus strengthened by the approbation of one of the most distinguished men of science then living, and one who had always been his attached friend, Park recovered all the enthusiasm about his journey which the arguments and affectionate remonstrances of Major Rennell had for a moment suspended; and he now seriously exerted himself in forwarding the preparations for his departure from England.

In his communication with the Colonial

Secretary, he frankly stated Major Rennell's unfavourable opinion, together with his objections; but he, at the same time, took the opportunity of mentioning that his own views continued unaltered, and submitted such reasons as, in his opinion, obviated all the specific objections that had been made to his plan. Lord Camden was satisfied, and immediate orders were given for completing the necessary arrangements. This was apparently a very simple matter, as the subject had already been long under consideration, and little more was required than to procure a small assortment of stores and merchandise, and a vessel to convey Park, his associates and cargo, to the coast of Africa. But the proverbial delays of office again interfered, and Park, though urgent in his application to obtain the necessary orders, and aware that longer delay might defeat, as in fact it did, the success of the expedition, by preventing the possibility of his penetrating into the interior of the country before the commencement of the rainy season, was compelled to wait for more than three months, when, at length, he received his instructions in the following letter addressed to him by the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

“DOWNING STREET, 2d January, 1805.

“SIR,—It being judged expedient that a small expedition should be sent into the interior of Africa, with a view to discover and ascertain whether any, and what commercial intercourse

can be opened therein for the mutual benefit of the natives and of his Majesty's subjects, I am commanded by the King to acquaint you, that on account of the knowledge you have acquired of the nations of Africa, and from the indefatigable exertions and perseverance you displayed in your travels among them, his Majesty has selected you for conducting this undertaking.

“ For better enabling you to execute this service, his Majesty has granted you the brevet commission of a captain in Africa, and has also granted a similar commission of lieutenant to Mr Alexander Anderson, whom you have recommended as a proper person to accompany you. Mr Scott has also been selected to attend you as a draftsman. You are hereby empowered to enlist with you for this expedition any number you think proper of the garrison at Goree, not exceeding forty-five, which the commandant of that island will be ordered to place under your command, giving them such bounties or encouragement as may be necessary to induce them cheerfully to join with you on the expedition.

“ And you are hereby authorized to engage, by purchase or otherwise, such a number of black artificers at Goree as you shall judge necessary for the objects you have in view.

“ You are to be conveyed to Goree in a transport, convoyed by his Majesty's sloop Eugenie, which will be directed to proceed with

you, in the first instance, to St Jago, in order that you may there purchase fifty asses for carrying your baggage.

“ When you shall have prepared whatever may be necessary for securing the objects of your expedition at Goree, you are to proceed up the river Gambia ; and thence crossing over to the Senegal, to march, by such route as you shall find most eligible, to the banks of the Niger.

“ The great object of your journey will be to pursue the course of this river to the utmost possible distance to which it can be traced ; to establish communication and intercourse with the different nations on the banks ; to obtain all the local knowledge in your power respecting them ; and to ascertain the various points stated in the Memoir which you delivered to me on the 4th of October last.

“ And you will be then at liberty to pursue your route homewards by any line you shall think most secure, either by taking a new direction through the interior towards the Atlantic, or by marching upon Cairo by taking the route leading to Tripoli.

“ You are hereby empowered to draw for any sum that you may be in want of, not exceeding £ 5000, upon the Lords of his Majesty’s Treasury, or upon such mercantile banking house in London as you may fix upon. I am, &c.

“ CAMDEN.”

“ *To Mungo Park, Esq. &c. &c. &c.*”

It is proper to mention here, that in addition to the compensation which Park himself was to receive for this service, which was sufficiently liberal, it was also agreed that, in the event of his death before the completion of his enterprise, or of his not being heard of within a specified time after his arrival in Africa, a certain sum should be paid by Government as a provision for his family.*

* The provision at first proposed was an annuity of £200 to his wife; but some of his friends having suggested that, in the event of her death, his infant family would be left entirely destitute, it was finally agreed that the sum of £4000 should be paid to Mrs Park, in lieu of the proposed annuity. [Communicated by Mrs Park.]

CHAPTER VI.

Park sails from England—Arrives at St Jago—Proceeds to Goree—Enlists Soldiers from the Garrison—Arrives at Kayee, and sets out on his second Journey into the Interior—Difficulties Encountered—Singular accident from a swarm of Bees—Arrival at Badoo.

PARK set sail from Portsmouth, in the Crescent transport, on the 30th of January, 1805, accompanied by Mr Anderson and Mr Scott, and four carpenters. Mr Anderson was his brother-in-law; Mr Scott, also, was an old acquaintance, and came from the same neighbourhood, and both gentlemen had been appointed, at Park's special recommendation, to accompany the expedition, the former as second in command, and the latter as draughtsman. After an unusually tedious and stormy passage, and having narrowly escaped being captured by the French, with whom we were then at war, the Crescent arrived at Port Praya Bay, in St Jago, one of the Cape Verd Islands, on the 8th of March. During his stay in this island, where he was detained for about a fortnight in collecting stores for his journey, Park wrote the following letter to his brother-in-law, Mr Dickson:

“ PORT PRAYA BAY, ST JAGO, March 13, 1805.

“ We have had a very tedious passage to this place, having been pestered with contrary winds, strong gales, and French privateers. We have all of us kept our health remarkably well, considering the very great change of climate. Mr Anderson has the rheumatism in his knee, but is getting better. Mr Scott is off this morning for the interior of the island, to take sketches; and as soon as I have finished this letter, I am going on shore to finish my purchase of asses. I bought all the corn, &c. last night, and twenty-four asses, and I shall purchase thirty-two more to-day; so you see we shall not be detained here. We shall have taken in all the water to-day, and the first division of the asses will come on board to-morrow. We expect to sail for Goree on Saturday or Sunday.

“ I have been so much employed that I have had no time, as yet, to look after plants; indeed this seems a very unfavourable season of the year for natural history, the whole country being quite dry and withered. I have collected some observations on the present state of the Cape Verd Islands, which I will send home by the sloop of war.

“ If Sir Joseph* inquires after me, tell him that I am going on as well as I could wish; and if I have as little trouble at Goree, as I am likely to

* Sir Joseph Banks.

have here, I hope to be able to date a letter from the Niger by the 4th of June."

Park left St Jago on the 21st of March, made the coast of Africa on the 25th, and anchored in Goree roads, on the morning of the 28th. From the garrison of this place his instructions authorized him to take a limited military force, instead of the soldiers from England, which, according to his original recommendation, were to have accompanied the expedition. His first object, therefore, after delivering his despatches to the commanding officer, Major Lloyd, was to consult with him respecting the proper encouragement to be offered to the troops, in order to induce them to volunteer on this perilous enterprise. They agreed upon offering double pay during the journey, with a discharge on their return; and this inducement was found so effectual, that in the course of a few days, almost every soldier in the garrison had volunteered his services. He had, therefore, only to choose the proper complement for his expedition, from among those best able to stand fatigue; and in this he was assisted by Lieutenant Martyn, of the Royal Artillery corps, who had himself volunteered to accompany Park, and whose offer had been joyfully accepted, as it was thought desirable to have the presence of an officer who was already acquainted with the men. Except in this one respect, Lieutenant Martyn does not *appear to* have been of much use in promoting

the objects of the expedition. The most prominent feature of his character, was a gay careless levity which seems to have accompanied him amid all the difficulties and discouragements which this fatal journey presented from its very commencement, and which contrasted strongly with the calm fortitude and determined resolution displayed by Park himself. He seems to have sought the adventure, not so much for any advantage to his country or honour to himself that might accrue from such a journey, as for the mere jest's sake; and in writing to a friend from Sansanding, the last station from which despatches were forwarded by this ill-fated expedition, the light-hearted lieutenant is less occupied with the future prospects of his party, than with the merits of the African beer. "Whitbread's beer," he writes, "is nothing to what we get at this place; as I feel by my head this morning, having been drinking all night with a Moor, and ended by giving him an excellent thrashing." With the assistance of this gentleman, Park selected thirty-five of the stoutest and most active soldiers belonging to the garrison; and with these and two experienced seamen, whom Captain Shortland, of the Squirrel frigate, permitted to volunteer on the same condition with the soldiers, Park sailed from Goree on the 6th of April, amid the repeated huzzas of his enthusiastic followers. Before leaving Goree, he wrote to his wife, giving her an account of his proceedings thus far.

TO MRS PARK.

"GOREE, 4th April, 1805.

" I have just now learnt that an American ship sails from this place for England in a few days ; and I readily embrace the opportunity of sending a letter to my dearest wife. We have all of us kept our health very well ever since our departure from England. Alexander * had a touch of the rheumatism at St Jago, but is now quite recovered ; he danced several country dances at the ball last night. George Scott is also in good health and spirits. I wrote to you from St Jago, which letter I hope you received. We left that place on the 21st of March, and arrived here with the asses on the 28th. Almost every soldier in the garrison volunteered to go with me ; and with the Governor's assistance I have chosen a guard of the best men in the place. So lightly do the people here think of the danger attending the undertaking, that I have been under the necessity of refusing several military and naval officers who volunteered to accompany me. We shall sail for Gambia on Friday or Saturday. I am happy to learn that Karfa, my old friend, is at present at Jonkakonda ; and I am in hopes we shall be able to hire him to go with us.

" We have as yet been extremely fortunate, and have got our business both at St Jago and this place finished with great success : and I have hopes, almost to certainty, that Providence will

* Mr Alexander Anderson, Mrs Park's brother.

so dispose the tempers and passions of the inhabitants of this quarter of the world, that we shall be enabled to *slide through* much more smoothly than you expect.

“I need not tell you how often I think about you ; your own feelings will enable you to judge of that. The hopes of spending the remainder of my life with my wife and children will make every thing seem easy ; and you may be sure I will not rashly risk my life, when I know that your happiness, and the welfare of my young ones depend so much upon it. I hope my mother does not torment herself with unnecessary fears about me. I sometimes fancy how you and she will be meeting misfortune half way, and placing me in many distressing situations. I have as yet experienced nothing but success, and I hope that six months more will end the whole as I wish.”

“P. S.—We have taken a ride this morning about twelve miles into the country. Alexander is much pleased with it ; the heat is moderate, and the country healthy at present.”

From Jillifree, on the river Gambia, he sent the following letter, dated April 9th, to Edward Cooke, Esq. under Secretary of State for the Colonies, giving an account of his proceedings since he left England.

TO EDWARD COOKE, ESQ. UNDER SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.

"JILLIFREE, RIVER GAMBIA, *April 9th*, 1805.

"SIR, — It is with great pleasure that I embrace this opportunity of sending you a general account of our proceedings since leaving England.

"We had a very tedious passage to the Cape Verd Islands, being detained by storms and contrary winds in the Bay of Biscay, so that we did not reach St Jago till the 8th of March. I immediately set about purchasing the asses, corn, hay, &c. and succeeded so well, that on 18th I had embarked forty-four asses, with plenty of corn and hay. The master of the transport declared that he could not receive any more consistently with the safety of the vessel. We sailed for Goree on the 21st. While we were getting under way, six English ships of the line, one of them a three-decker, came into the Bay. They did not hail us; one of them had an Admiral's blue flag at the mizen.

"We made the coast of Africa on the 25th, and anchored in Goree roads on the morning of 28th. I immediately went on shore, and having delivered the despatches to Major Lloyd, consulted with him respecting the proper encouragement to be offered to the troops. We agreed that nothing would be so great an inducement as

double pay during the journey, and a discharge on their return. A Garrison order to this effect was accordingly made out; and in the course of a few days almost every soldier in the garrison had volunteered his services. Lieutenant Martyn, of the Royal Artillery Corps, having likewise volunteered, I thought it would be of consequence to have an officer who was acquainted with the men, and who could assist me in choosing such as were best able to stand fatigue. I therefore accepted his services on the conditions mentioned in Lord Camden's letter. Captain Shortland, of the Squirrel frigate, has allowed two of his best seamen to go with me as volunteers, in order to assist in rigging and navigating our *Nigritian Men of War*. I have given them the same encouragement as the soldiers, and have had the four carpenters whom I brought from England attested, in order to put the whole under the same discipline and regulations.

“On the morning of the 6th of April we embarked the soldiers, in number thirty-five men. They jumped into the boats in the highest spirits, and bade adieu to Goree with repeated huzzas. I believe that every man in the garrison would have embarked with great cheerfulness; but no inducement could prevail on a single Negro to accompany me. I must, therefore, trust to the Gambia for interpreters, and I expect to be able to hire or purchase three or four in going up the

river. I will send a particular account of all money matters by the return of the transport.

“MUNGO PARK.”

From Kayee, still farther up on the same river, he wrote letters to his wife, Mr Dickson, Sir Joseph Banks, and his father-in-law, Mr Anderson, dated April 26, the day previous to his commencing the land journey from the Gambia to the Niger.

TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

“KAYEE, RIVER GAMBIA, April 26, 1805.”

“MY DEAR FRIEND;— I know that you will be pleased to hear that I am in good health, and going forwards with as much success as I could reasonably expect. In my letter to Lord Camder, I have given a short statement of my transactions since I left England, which I have requested his lordship to shew to you. By that you will see that I have had but little time to attend to objects of natural history; but lest you should think that I have neglected this pursuit entirely, I have sent a few specimens in a trunk, which I hope will come safe. The most remarkable are,
 “1st. The *Fang jani*, or self-burning tree of Gambia. This grows plentifully on the banks of the Gambia, betwixt Yanimaroo and Kayee, and no where else. It is certainly burnt by some internal process, of which I am ignorant. Few

of the natives have seen it actually burning; but every person who has sailed up the Gambia, will allow that these bushes are burnt in places where no human being could set them on fire, and where the grass around them was not burnt. I have sent you a burnt stump, two tops, and a fruit.

“ 2d. The *Kino*, (so called by the natives,) a branch and fruit of the original gum kino tree, and a paper of the real gum; none of this gum is at present exported from Gambia, though it might be collected in some quantity.

“ 3d. The *Tribo*, a root with which the natives dye their leather of a yellow colour. It is not in flower at this season.

“ The wars which at present prevail in Bondou and Kasson, have prevented the merchants from bringing down the *Shea* butter; otherwise I would have sent you a pot of it. I have sent you as a specimen of African manufactures, a Mandingo cloth dyed from the leaves of the indigo, half-a-dozen small pots, and some Lēfā's or calabash covers. I regret that I have not been able to procure any Bondou *frankincense*. Give my compliments to Major Rennell, and tell him that I hope to be able to correct my former errors. The course of the Gambia is certainly not so long as is laid down in the charts. The watch goes so correctly, that I will measure Africa by feet and inches.

“ In case any unfavourable reports should be raised respecting the termination of our journey, I request that you will endeavour as much as you can to prevent them from finding their way into the newspapers, or by any other manner reaching the ears of my dear wife and mother.”

TO MRS PARK.

“ KAYE, RIVER GAMBIA, *April 26, 1803.*

“ I have been busy these three days in making preparations for our journey, and I feel rather uneasy when I think that I can receive no letters from you till I return to England; but you may depend on this, that I will avail myself of every opportunity of writing to you, though, from the very nature of the undertaking, these opportunities will be but few. We set off for the interior to-morrow morning, and I assure you, that whatever the issue of the present journey may be, every thing looks favourable. We have been successful thus far, beyond my highest expectations.

“ The natives, instead of being frightened at us, look on us as their best friends, and the kings have not only granted us protection, but sent people to go before us. The soldiers are in the highest spirits; and as many of them, like me, have left a wife and family in England, they are happy to embrace this opportunity of returning.

They never think about difficulties ; and I am confident, if there was occasion for it, that they would defeat any number of Negroes that might come against us ; but of this we have not the most distant expectation. The King of Kataba (the most powerful King in Gambia) visited us on board the Crescent on the 20th and 21st ; he has furnished us with a messenger to conduct us safely to the King of Wooll.

“ I expect to have an opportunity of writing to you from Konkodoo or Bammakoo, by some of the slave traders ; but as they travel very slowly, I may probably have returned to the coast before any of my letters have reached Goree ; at any rate, you need not be surprised if you should not hear from me for some months ; nay, so uncertain is the communication between Africa and England, that perhaps the next news you hear may be my arrival in the latter, which I still think will be in the month of December. If we have to go round by the West Indies, it will take us two months more ; but as Government has given me an unlimited credit, if a vessel is coming direct, I shall of course take a passage in her. I have enjoyed excellent health, and have great hopes to bring this expedition to a happy conclusion. In five weeks from the date of this letter, the worst part of the journey will be over. Kiss all my dear children for me, and let them know that their father loves them.”

At this time he had little doubt of being able to accomplish his object, for in his letter to Mr Dickson of the same date, he writes,—

“ Every thing at present looks as favourable as I could wish, and if all things go well, this day six weeks I expect to drink all your healths in the water of the Niger. The soldiers are in good health and spirits. They are the most *dashing* men I ever saw; and if they preserve their health, we may keep ourselves perfectly secure from any hostile attempt on the part of the natives. I have little doubt but that I shall be able, with presents and fair words, to pass through the country to the Niger: and if once we are fairly afloat, *the day is won*. Give my kind regards to Sir Joseph and Mr Greville; and if they should think that I have paid too little attention to natural objects, you may mention that I had forty men and forty-two asses to look after, besides the constant trouble of packing and weighing bundles, palavering with the Negroes, and laying plans for our future success. I never was so busy in my life.”

His letter to his father-in-law breathes the same spirit of confidence in the ultimate success of his expedition.

“ KAYE, RIVER GAMBIA, April 26, 1805.

“ That I have not wrote you sooner, you may be sure was not from want of attention, but from want of time, and because I knew that you must

have received every information respecting our procedure from Alexander. I know that you will rejoice to hear that we both of us keep our health, and that the kind hand of Providence has thus far made our journey prosperous. We set off to-morrow morning for the interior, with the most flattering prospect of finishing our expedition in the course of six months, with honour to ourselves, and benefit to mankind. I need not tell you how solicitous I am about the welfare of my dear Allie and children. Though I have no hopes of hearing from her till my return to England, yet I will indulge the hope that all is well. In case it should please the Almighty to take me to himself, I have thought it necessary to give a statement of my money matters in the enclosed letter, that my dear wife and children may reap the reward of my industry. I did not do this from any thing like second sight, but merely to guard against a possible occurrence. I am far from being in the least down-hearted: indeed, I have so much to attend to, that I have but little time to myself. I receive great benefit from Alexander, who is as systematic, cautious, and careful as ever. I sometimes think he has forgot his old maxim, 'Take it easy.' I can easily imagine how little Ibi* will be stotting about the house and garden. Tell her, if she can say her questions † well, I will bring her two new frocks. My compliments to

* Elizabeth, his infant daughter. † The Catechism.

Mrs Anderson, George, Thomas, and Bell. I suppose Andrew will be in the army by this time. When we return to the coast, if we are lucky enough to find a vessel coming directly to England, I think we may be in England by the month of December; but if we have to go round by the West Indies, it will take us two months longer. With best wishes for your health and prosperity, I am your affectionate friend,

“MUNGO PARK.”*

“*Mr Thomas Anderson, Surgeon,
Selkirk, North Britain.*”

Notwithstanding the confident hope expressed in these letters, Park must have felt no small anxiety about his advance into the interior. The various delays which he had experienced, both before leaving England and on his voyage, left him to encounter the difficulties of his land journey under very unfavourable circumstances. It was just barely possible that he might reach the Niger before the commencement of the rainy

* This letter was first published in the seventy-fourth number of that deservedly popular publication, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*. The ingenious editor states, that “it was the last letter ever received from him by his friends in this country:” which is a mistake, as the reader will find in the present volume letters to Sir Joseph Banks and to Mrs Park, dated at a subsequent period from Badoo and Sansanding.

season ; but he had before him the certainty of encountering the great tropical heats and tornadoes which precede that season, and which, to caravans proceeding at that period through a desert country, are generally attended not merely with inconvenience, but with great danger. This evil could be avoided only by his postponing his journey till the middle of November, when it could be performed with greater ease and safety ; but so many months passed in a state of inactivity, was as disagreeable to Park's own feelings as it was likely to disappoint the expectations of Government. He knew that the eye of his country anxiously watched his progress ; and he probably reflected, that his countrymen have, in regard to all their public expeditions, whether civil or military, been more ready to excuse rashness than cautious delay, even when the latter appeared to be sanctioned by unquestionable prudence. He accordingly adopted the resolution of proceeding under every disadvantage ; and, whatever doubts he may have felt in his own mind, he took care that nothing like despondence and irresolution should alarm his friends, or dispirit the faithful companions of his journey.

At Kayee, Park engaged Isaaco, a Mandingo priest, and parcel pedlar, to serve him in the capacity of guide. This man, to whose name peculiar interest is attached from the share he had in ascertaining the fate of Park some years

afterwards, was well qualified for his present office, as he had been much accustomed to long inland journeys in his character of merchant.

On the morning of April 27, 1805, Park and his companions took their departure from Kayee, under a salute from the *Crescent*, which had conveyed them thus far on their daring enterprise, and began their march to the interior. The only inconvenience which they encountered at their outset was from the extreme heat of the weather, and the difficulty of getting their asses to advance, most of them having been unaccustomed to heavy burdens. Next day, about sunset, they arrived at Pisania, whence Park had set out on his journey ten years before, and where he had the pleasure of renewing his acquaintance with some of his former friends, who were not a little surprised at seeing him again engaged on a similar enterprise. Here he remained for about a week to complete his arrangements,—some of the baggage having been left at Kayee to be carried to Pisania by water, and experience having already pointed out some deficiencies that required to be supplied, among which an additional number of beasts of burden was found to be indispensable.

On their leaving Pisania, May 4, several of the most respectable natives of the vicinity, as a mark of respect, accompanied them for a mile or two on their journey. The order of marching adopted was as follows :— The asses and loads being all

marked and numbered with red paint, a certain number was allotted to each of six messes, into which the soldiers were divided; and the asses were farther subdivided amongst the individuals of each mess. Mr Scott, and one of Isaaco's Negro attendants, went in front of the caravan, Lieutenant Martyn in the centre, and Mr Anderson, and Park himself, brought up the rear. In this manner they proceeded but slowly, as some of their asses were overburdened, and others proved unruly, kicking off their bundles, and refusing to advance. This difficulty, however, was soon obviated by purchasing additional beasts of burden, and disposing of such as were least serviceable.

On the 10th of May, they reached Fatteconda, where Park's friend, the son of the former King of Woolli, came to meet him, and gave him to understand, that his present expedition was viewed with great jealousy by some of the influential people at Madina, the capital of Woolli, where he arrived the following day. Having unloaded the asses without the gates of the town, Park proceeded to pay his respects to the king, to whom he made a present of a pair of silver mounted pistols, some dollars, amber and coral, which the covetous monarch positively refused to accept till the gifts were nearly doubled; and he concluded by begging a blanket to keep him

warm during the cold weather, which Park readily sent him.

As the travellers advanced on their route, they became more and more exposed to annoyance on the part of the natives. An opinion prevailed that they were carrying merchandise of immense value into the interior. Park was obliged to give strict orders to his people to keep together, and to be always in readiness to resist the attacks, which he had reason to apprehend from the half military, half predatory bands, with which the territories of Woolli and Bondou were infested. They were also subjected to many petty vexations, with the hope of extorting from them money and trinkets. In the village of Kanipe, the women had drawn all the water from the wells, that the strangers might be compelled to purchase a supply; and it was only by a stratagem that the soldiers at length succeeded in evading this necessity. One of them having dropped his canteen, as if by accident, into a large well, which the women, with the labour of many hours, had contrived nearly to empty, was lowered by a rope fastened round him to the bottom of the well, where he stood and filled all the camp kettles, to the great vexation of the industrious damsels, who thus saw all their hopes of beads and amber fairly defeated. Passing through Kussai, they again arrived on the banks of the Gambia, which in this place is about

one hundred yards broad, and which Park, contrary to his expectation, found to have a regular tide, rising four inches by the shore. Here he ascended a hill, where he had a most enchanting view of the country to the westward, watered by the Gambia, whose irregular course was easily distinguished by a range of dark green trees, which grew along its banks. About a mile and a half farther on, they had a similar view to the south-east, from which the river runs through a level country. It was here that Park experienced the first of that series of disasters, which contributed to render unavailing all his sagacity and personal efforts for carrying the expedition to a successful issue. John Walters, one of his soldiers, dropped down in an epileptic fit, and soon after expired.

Proceeding in a course almost parallel with the river for several days, during which Park made several astronomical observations, but met with little in the way of adventure, the expedition crossed the river Nerico, and arrived on the 18th of May at Jallacotta, and two days after at Bady, in the territory of Tenda. Here they were threatened with a very serious obstruction in the obstinacy of the governor, who refused to permit them to proceed till he should receive a larger present than Park felt disposed to allow him. This chief, who styled himself the Faranba, behaved with so much insolence, that Park, having used

all milder methods to no purpose, was at last reluctantly compelled to prepare for hostilities. In the meanwhile, some of the Faranba's people had seized the guide's horse, and when Isaaco went to recover it, he himself was seized, robbed, flogged, and detained prisoner at Bady.

Park now found himself placed in a very delicate situation. Isaaco's wife and child sat crying under a tree, attended by their Negroes, who despaired of ever more seeing their master. It would have been an easy matter to burn the town during the night; but Park's humanity shrunk from adopting a measure, which must have proved fatal to many innocent people, and which, after all, might not have the effect of procuring the restoration of the guide. He therefore resolved to wait till next morning, when, if Isaaco was still detained, he would endeavour to effect his liberation by force. Fortunately, this proved unnecessary: the guide was sent back early in the morning; and, soon after, Park received a sort of apologetical message from the Faranba, that he had no wish to quarrel with him, and only wished to receive the tribute usually exacted from kaffilas passing through his territory. Park's firmness upon this occasion had such an effect on the rapacious governor, that he was content to receive from him somewhat less than one third of the tribute usually exacted from a Negro caravan.

Continuing to advance in a south-easterly direction, they followed the course by which Park had returned homeward in 1796-7: crossing the Nealo Koba, and passing through the wilderness of Samakara, they reached a valley, which, from a singular accident that happened there, they named Bee Creek. Having unloaded their asses, and kindled a fire to cook their supper, they unluckily disturbed an immense swarm of bees, which immediately attacked both men and beasts in such overwhelming force as to disperse them in all directions; while the fire, being deserted, spread to some bamboos, and had nearly involved all the baggage in the conflagration. A cause apparently so insignificant, had almost put an end to their journey. The baggage, however, was saved; but, besides the sufferings of the men, many of whom were stung severely about the face and hands, they lost six asses and one horse, by this extraordinary accident; and Park had the mortification of reflecting that the objects of his expedition might be as effectually defeated by an enemy the most contemptible, as by those mightier obstacles by which he calculated on being opposed.

On the 28th of May, the party arrived at Badoo, where Park was again obliged to make presents to the amount of ninety-eight bars; and from which, next day, he had an opportunity of despatching two letters home to England by the

way of Gambia. The one was to his wife, and the other to Sir Joseph Banks. In the latter, after giving an account of each day's journey thus far, he adds, " You must not imagine, my dear friend, from this hasty sketch, that I have neglected astronomical observations. I have observed the latitude every two or three days, and have observed three eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, which settle the longitude, by the help of the watch, to the nearest mile. * * * I find that my former journeys by foot were underrated : some of them surprise myself when I trace the same road on horseback. * * * I expect to reach the Niger on the 27th of June."

To Mrs Park he writes in the most cheering strain. " I am happy to inform you that we are half through our journey without the smallest accident or unpleasant circumstance. We all of us keep our health, and are on the most friendly terms with the natives. I have seen many of my old acquaintances, and am every where well received. By the 27th of June, we expect to have finished all our travels by land ; and when we have once got afloat on the river, we shall conclude that we are embarking for England. I have never had the smallest sickness ; and Alexander (Mrs Park's brother) is quite free from all his stomach complaints. * * * In fact, we have only had a pleasant journey ; and yet this is what we thought would be the worst part of it. I will

indulge the hope that my wife, children, and all friends are well. I am in great hopes of finishing this journey with credit in a few months ; and then with what joy shall I turn my face towards home !”

Though, in writing to his friends, and especially to his wife, Park, no doubt, spoke more cheerfully of his prospects than his actual situation warranted, there is no ground whatever for supposing that he already had begun to despair of ultimate success. His situation was indeed in some respects critical enough : the frequent lightnings in the far south began to give warning of a severer season, and in a few weeks at farthest he must expect the commencement of the periodical rains. Still he had already accomplished what he himself considered as the most difficult half of his journey, without encountering any very serious inconvenience. With the exception of the man who died of epilepsy, his little party was yet entire ; and he might hope, before the middle of June, when the rainy season usually commences, to have traversed the greater part of the space which still lay between him and the Great River.

CHAPTER VII.

Park continues his Journey — Tornadoes — Is overtaken by the Rainy Season — Sickness amongst the Soldiers — Great Hardships — Isaaco the Guide seized by a Crocodile — Continued Sickness and Mortality amongst the Soldiers — Visit from Karfa Taura — Park arrives at the Niger — Distressed state of his Party — Negotiation with Mansong — Park reaches Sansanding — Death of Mr Anderson — Preparations for embarking on the Niger.

AFTER leaving Badoo and Tambacunda, the first town of any consequence at which they arrived was Julifunda, where Park was obliged to gratify the cupidity of the petty king, Mansa Kussan, with goods to the value of two hundred bars, and even then effected his escape with difficulty. The next day being the 4th of June, memorable during the long reign of George the Third as his Majesty's birth-day, Park purchased a bullock and a calf for the soldiers, and celebrated the day with as much festivity as circumstances admitted—firing a *feu de joie*, and drinking his Majesty's health in *water*, which the burning sun of Africa rendered a more precious beverage than the costliest wines which were elsewhere drained on the same happy occasion. In the next town, Baniserile, Park met with a very friendly reception from a respectable old Mahomedan chief, to whom he presented a New

Testament, in Arabic, with which he seemed very much pleased. Two days after, they crossed the Faleme, a considerable stream, and one of the three principal tributaries of the Senegal. Here Park lost another of his party, a carpenter, who had for some days past been ill of dysentery, a disease which spread with fearful rapidity among the soldiers, as the rainy season had now commenced. It was ushered in by a very heavy tornado, and in a few minutes the ground was covered with water three inches deep. "This tornado," says Park, "proved to us to be *the beginning of sorrows*;" and fatally were his anticipations verified. The change of weather had an immediate effect on the health of the soldiers. The rain had scarcely commenced when almost every individual of the party was affected with headach, vomiting, and drowsiness, and next morning twelve of the soldiers were sick. Park had, to use his own language, proudly flattered himself that he should be able to reach the Niger with a very moderate loss. He now began to awake from his happy dream, and for the first time gives expression to a feeling of apprehension. "The rain," he writes, "had set in, and I trembled to think that we were only half way through our journey." But even under these dispiriting circumstances he did not permit his ardour for discovery to flag; and while he allowed his men a day's rest at Shrondo, where

the rains had overtaken them, he himself went to examine the gold mines in the vicinity, of the manner of working which he gives in his journal a minute and interesting description. Travelling had now become a matter of the greatest difficulty: their march was frequently interrupted by brooks swollen into formidable torrents: nearly half of the men were sick, and required to be accommodated with the horses and spare asses; while those whose strength had as yet resisted the evil influence of the climate, were in danger of sinking under the fatigue of urging on and assisting the remaining beasts of burden, now greatly overloaded. The sick soldiers frequently threw themselves down at the foot of a tree, requesting permission to be left there to die; and it was often with the greatest difficulty that Park could coax them on to the proper resting-place. Fortunately his own health was not much affected; and it is not unlikely that he owed his exemption from the prevalent epidemic in a great measure to the incessant call upon his mental energies, and the conviction that upon his personal exertions depended every chance of ultimate success. *Pars sanitatis velle sanare*; and Park was determined to struggle against the low spirits which depressed his companions, and no doubt tended greatly to bring upon them the very evils of which they lived in the continual apprehension. To fear, on his own account, he was a stranger;

and his anxiety for the welfare of his associates, and the success of the expedition, served only to keep in constant exercise his powers both of mind and body, instead of encouraging that fatal debility into which minds of less energy are apt to sink under an accumulation of difficulties. At the village of Fankia, Park diverged from the route which he had hitherto followed, and which was nearly the same by which he had returned on his former journey, and proceeded in a north-east direction, to avoid the horrors of the Jallonka wilderness. It is painful to follow this unfortunate expedition through its progress, which only presents a long series of disasters, of which extortion and pillage, and open hostility on the part of the natives, formed the least part. Many of their beasts of burden sank down under the fatigues of the journey, or strayed irrecoverably, carrying along with them their loads, and became the prize of the harpies that hovered on the outskirts of Park's little band. Dysentery and fever continued to spread among the men, some of whom were left behind in the villages at their own earnest request, and others died on the march. It would, however, be doing great injustice to Park, were we to omit calling particular attention to his conduct during this disastrous part of his progress. Such an occasion was necessary for the display of those mental resources, that patient endurance of fatigue, that steady perseverance,

and firmness of purpose, which so eminently qualified him for conducting this arduous enterprise. He was thrown completely upon himself, and had frequently to act, as well as to think, for the whole party. His personal exertions were never wanting in any case of difficulty or labour ; and when danger was apprehended, he was always first to meet it. Nor was this all : he had a kind heart, as well as a brave one, and thought it no degradation to render to the men placed under his charge those humbler offices of kindness which accorded more with the generosity of his feelings than with the dignity of his command. His horse was readily yielded up for the service of a sick attendant, and he himself, though at great personal risk of being attacked by the wild beasts that generally track the caravans through the African deserts, often lagged behind the rest of his party, supporting the exhausted frame, and accommodating his pace to the feeble pace of some sick soldier who was unable to keep up with his companions. He was also frequently employed in assisting to disengage the asses from sloughs and bogs, and in driving before him the horses given up for the accommodation of the sick soldiers, when their riders were too feeble to urge them to the proper pace. Such attentions, while they endeared him to his men, add a dignity to his character beyond the triumphs of the proud. Offices of kindness are always entitled to our

praise, even when attended with little personal inconvenience to those who perform them ; but who can sufficiently admire the man who, in the very midst of those circumstances of danger and personal suffering, which are most apt to harden the heart, and render it for the time dead to every feeling but intense selfishness, could forget his own sufferings, deny himself even the ordinary privileges of his rank, and become literally the slave of his own servants, that he might minister to their comforts, and effectually alleviate their sufferings, though in doing so he himself necessarily incurred a similar danger !

In crossing the Ba-Fing, another principal tributary of the Senegal, one of the men was drowned, in consequence of the canoe being upset. In this neighbourhood the natives observe a practice, common in Scotland, of collecting a heap of stones on the spot where some of their relations have fallen in battle, and to these heaps or *cairns* every friendly passenger adds a stone to perpetuate the memory of the deceased. As the season advanced the sickness and mortality among the soldiers increased. At the beginning of July almost every individual belonging to the party was on the sick list : among these were Mr Anderson and Mr Scott. The party had by this time sustained the loss of two of their carpenters ; and several of the soldiers, including one or two who had strayed, and

notwithstanding the most careful search by Park in person, were never more heard of. Among those whom they were obliged to leave under the care of the natives, there is particular mention made of Roger Macmillan, who was left at Sanjeekotta. "I regretted much," says Park, "being under the necessity of leaving, in the hour of sickness and distress, a man who had grown old in the service of his country. He had been thirty-one years a soldier, twelve times a corporal, nine times a serjeant; but an unfortunate attachment to the *bottle* always returned him into the ranks." In crossing a branch of the Ba-Woolima, Park had nearly lost his valuable guide, Isaaco, under the following circumstances:—As he was engaged in driving some of the asses across a shallow part of the river, and had reached the middle of the stream, a crocodile rose close to him, and, seizing him by the left thigh, pulled him under the water. With great presence of mind he felt the head of the animal, and thrust his finger into its eye, on which it quitted its hold, and Isaaco attempted to reach the farther shore, calling loudly for a knife; but the hungry crocodile again rushing upon him, seized him by the other thigh, and a second time pulled him under water. The poor man had no other means of defending himself than his former expedient, of thrusting his fingers into its eyes, which he did with so much violence as to make the animal instantly quit its hold. It

soon after rose, flounced about on the surface of the water as if stupified, and then swam down the middle of the river. The poor guide was dangerously hurt, and Park was at first afraid that there was little chance of his recovery ; but having dressed his wound, and carried him to the neighbouring village of Boolinkoomboo, he resolved to wait there a few days and superintend his cure. This was indeed not so much a measure of humanity as of absolute necessity, for except Isaaco he had no other person whom he could trust in the capacity of guide. Besides, at this very time all his people were sick, with one single exception, and he was obliged to send to some distance for an additional supply of rice, as a scarcity prevailed in the line of their route, and their own provisions were nearly exhausted.

On the 10th of July the guide had so far recovered as to be enabled to travel: and next day they arrived at Keminoom, a strongly fortified town, after the manner of African fortification, where Park found the people "all thieves." Their sovereign, Mansa Numma, as became the chief of such a tribe, together with his thirty sons, eminently distinguished themselves in the public extortion and private pillage to which they subjected the travellers. Even after they had left the town, and were proceeding on their journey, under the protection of one of the king's sons, whom they had hired in this capacity, they were still subjected to many

petty depredations, and even to more open insults. As Park himself was riding a little apart from his men, two of the king's sons came up and engaged him in conversation. Entertaining no suspicion of these slips of royalty, he allowed himself to be put off his guard, when one of them, watching his opportunity, snatched from him his musket, and ran off with it. Park immediately sprung from his horse, and, sword in hand, set off in pursuit of the thief. Mr Anderson got within shot of him, but, seeing it was Numma's son, forbore shooting. This fellow accordingly made his escape, and when Park returned to his horse he found that the other royal scoundrel had, in his absence, made off with his great-coat. On his complaining of this conduct to his royal guide, he assured him, with great nonchalance, that he would be perfectly justified in shooting any of his fraternity, or any other person that attempted to steal from the loads. Under this sanction Park made the soldiers load their muskets, and be ready, but fortunately they had no opportunity of coming to extremities, though they still continued to be subjected to trifling depredations. As they approached Nummaboo, where they arrived on the 19th of July, these depredations increased to an alarming extent; and notwithstanding all the vigilance which the travellers could exert, they lost several muskets and knapsacks, together with some of their bes'

asses. The tornadoes also now became more frequent and violent. So many of their beasts of burden had been stolen, or killed with fatigue, or otherwise lost, that the men themselves were obliged to carry a great part of the loads, a labour of which their commander cheerfully took a share. In this manner they arrived on the banks of the Ba-Woolima, a narrow, but rapid, and very deep river, which they had great difficulty in crossing. Their first attempt was to fell some tall trees close by the river, in such a manner as that they might fall across the stream, and form a bridge upon it; but they were all found to be of insufficient length. Having fatigued themselves in this manner till sunset, they were obliged to give up this plan as impracticable. Next morning, Park proposed to make a raft to be hauled from side to side by ropes; but when the carpenters had cut the logs into sufficient lengths, the whole party could not muster healthy people enough to carry them to the water side. In this strait, their Mandingo guide's people proposed the construction of what Park calls a Negro bridge, formed by a number of upright forked sticks, of a proper length, and in two ranges, each set supporting two trees tied together, and laid across the forks. The bridge was completed by connecting these beams with cross sticks. Two large trees tied together, and fixed to either bank, by fastening their roots with ropes to the trees growing there,

were allowed to sink into the water, and thus prevented the current from running away with the forks, whose ends sloped down the stream, while the force of the current itself, kept firm those whose roots slanted up the stream. At this place, another of the soldiers died of fever, and soon after they had crossed the river, Mr Scott and Lieutenant Martyn were almost too ill to proceed.

On their arrival at Bangassi, they were received very kindly by the King Serenummo, who offered them the protection of his son, as far as Sego, whither he was to proceed in a very few days ; but Park was too impatient to arrive at the Niger, to avail himself of this offer. Soon after leaving Bangassi, his little party came to an eminence, whence they had a view of some very distant mountains to the south-east by east. Park was at the time very sick and faint ; but the certainty that the southern base of these mountains was washed by that interesting river, to which he looked forward as the termination of his difficulties, made the traveller forget his fever, and think only of how he was to climb over their blue summits. A little before this, three more of the soldiers, and a carpenter, lay down on the road, and refused to proceed. Their companions waited for them at the next halting place, but they did not make their appearance ; and Park, learning that they had returned to Bangassi,

sent them the following letter by the Dooty's son, to whose special care he commended them:—

“DEAR SOLDIERS,—I am sorry to learn that you have returned to Bangassi. I have sent in charge of the bearer of this, three complete strings of amber; one of which will procure rice for forty days, the second will purchase milk or fowls for the same time, and the third will buy provisions for you on the road, till you arrive at the Niger.—Yours, M. PARK.”

Thus affectionately careful was he of his men, under circumstances of partial disobedience, which might have provoked an officer of less humanity, to leave them to their fate. He was also scrupulously honest about the property of those who died on the journey, as we find by such entries as the following, carefully made in his Journal. “July 26. Corporal Powal died during the night. Buried him this morning; two dollars and a half in his pocket, for which I am accountable.” “July 29. Found five dollars in J. Trott's knapsack, for which I am accountable.” Another short extract from this journal confirms what has been already mentioned of Park's attachment to the old legendary ballads of his country. It is dated Nummosoolo: “Was under the necessity of leaving here William Allen sick. Paid the Dooty for him as usual. I regretted much leaving this man; he had naturally a cheerful disposition,

and he used often to beguile the watches of the night with the songs of our dear native land." It is easy to conceive how much additional interest those songs must have possessed, when heard amid the burning deserts of Africa, and its pestilential miasmata, by the travellers, whose hearts still responded to the tones which recalled the memory of their happy home, though their ear had already become deaf to the voice of hope, when it would have whispered that such days might yet return.

The fatigues of the journey were now greatly aggravated by bad roads, scarcity of provisions, the increasing sickness of the men, and the want of a sufficient number of beasts of burden. Of the forty asses that were purchased at St Jago, not one remained to the party on the 1st of August. The men also now suffered more severely than ever, from the evil influence of the climate. Of those upon whom Park more immediately depended for counsel and assistance, Mr Scott and Lieutenant Martyn were still suffering from fever, and Mr Anderson was now seized with the same dangerous illness. Park found him one day lying under a bush, apparently dying. He took him up, and carrying him upon his back across a stream, which came up to his middle, placed him upon his own horse, and then returned to assist in carrying over the loads. Though he found himself much fatigued, having crossed the

stream sixteen times, he afterwards loaded his ass, and proceeded on foot to the next village, leading his brother-in-law's horse, and driving his ass before him. Such personal exertions, together with his more immediate duties, as chief, in arranging the order of the expedition, and transacting all the business with the Dooties and natives of the villages through which they passed, were now matters of daily, and almost of hourly occurrence. Fortunately for the little party, Park was sufficient for all; his cheerfulness had never forsaken him, and in the confidence of their leader his helpless companions placed their only remaining hope.

The sickness of his brother-in-law, to whom he was warmly attached, and who, as his second in command, had hitherto relieved him of great part of his anxiety about the little details of the expedition, gave him great uneasiness. He attended on him with the greatest solicitude, and shortened on his account his daily march. He frequently loitered behind to give Mr Anderson a little rest when overcome with the fatigue of riding, then led his horse by the bridle till they came up with the rest of the party. On one of these occasions, they were in some danger from a species of enemy that now frequently infested their march. Park and his sick friend were separated from their party, which they were anxious to rejoin before the evening closed in,

and were proceeding at a brisker pace than usual, when they heard a noise very much like the barking of a large mastiff, but ending in a hiss like the peculiar sound made by an angry cat, which is familiarly called spitting. Park at first suspected it to proceed from a monkey, and was remarking to his friend, "what a bouncing fellow that must be," when they heard another bark nearer to them, and presently a third, accompanied with a growl. Immediately they saw three very large lions coming toward them, bounding over the long grass, not one after the other, but all three abreast. Park was afraid that if he allowed them to come too near, and his piece should miss fire, his own destruction and that of his companion must be certain : he, therefore, let go the bridle of Mr Anderson's horse, and boldly advanced alone against these formidable enemies. As soon as they were within a long shot of him, he fired at the centre one, when they all stopped, looked at each other, and then bounded away a few paces ; one of them again stopped and looked back, but finally drew off with his companions. Park was too busy in reloading his piece to observe whether he had wounded any of them, or to watch their motions as they went away ; but he was very happy to see the last of them march slowly off among the bushes. He was only afraid that they might follow him till dark, when he and his companion

might easily be taken off their guard ; but though they occasionally heard their growling, they were troubled with them no more that night. They, however, met with an adventure almost quite as serious, for they lost their way in the dark, and were compelled to pass the night on the rugged summit of a precipice, where Park lighted a fire and watched till morning, to guard against surprise from the lions, which they knew to be prowling in their neighbourhood.

At the village of Koomikoomi, where they arrived on the 13th of August, Park again joined the road by which he made his homeward route in 1797 ; and at Doombila, a few miles farther on, he had the pleasure of meeting his old friend and kind host, Karfa Taura. This worthy Negro, hearing a report at Boori, his place of residence, of a kaffila of white people passing through Fooladoo to Bambarra, conducted by a person of the name of Park, had set off immediately with three of his slaves to Bambakoo, a distance of six days' travel, in the hope of meeting him, and assisting him on his way to Sego. But finding that the kaffila had not yet come up, he proceeded immediately to meet him other two days' journey. " He instantly recognized me," says Park, " and you may judge of the pleasure I felt on seeing my old benefactor." The face of an old friend is always a pleasing object, and to Park, under his present circumstances, such an oasis in the desert must have been peculiarly gratifying.

Mr Anderson still continued so weak, that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, by Negroes hired for that purpose by his affectionate brother-in-law; and Mr Scott having lagged behind, crawled back to Koomikoomi, where he shortly after died of his fever. The loss of this young man was deeply felt by Park, to whom he was endeared by his amiable temper, and by the circumstance of his being a fellow-Borderer. His father was an old and respectable tenant of the Duke of Buccleuch, a family which has always been distinguished for their paternal interest in the prosperity of those who live under them. Young George Scott was on the point of reaping the advantage of this connection, when, unfortunately for himself, he resolved to join Park in his perilous adventure. He had served for some years under an engraver of eminence in London; and his talents as a draftsman having accidentally engaged the attention of Sir Walter Scott, that gentleman recommended him to the late Duchess of Buccleuch, by whose influence he obtained the assurance of speedily succeeding to a situation in the Ordnance department in the Tower, which, in addition to a comfortable salary and other advantages, would have left him sufficient leisure for the cultivation of his favourite art. But this easy road to independence he was content to forsake for the hazards of the new expedition, to which he was attached at Park's recommendation in the capacity of draftsman; and he found a

grave in the deserts of Africa, within a very few miles of that Niger on which his youthful imagination had dwelt so fondly, but which his eyes were destined never to behold.

On their arrival at Toniba, after a severe march over very bad roads, they experienced a heavy shower of rain, when the soldiers ran into the village, leaving Park to take care of the asses. This troublesome duty was rendered necessary whenever they halted in a cultivated country, owing to a strict law, universal in Africa, which provided, that if an ass should break a single stalk of corn, the proprietor of the corn has a right to seize the animal, and if the owner refuse to satisfy him for the damage he thinks he has sustained, he can retain the ass; and though he cannot *sell* or *work*, he may *kill* him. As the Bamarrans, in whose territory Park now was, esteem ass flesh a great delicacy, he was afraid that they would be ready to put the latter part of the law in force in the event of the slightest trespass; he, therefore, thought proper to keep walking about the whole night, lest, by a careless watch, he should incur so heavy a penalty. This trifling event would scarcely deserve to be mentioned, did it not serve to throw light on the self-denying character of this intrepid traveller, who cheerfully submitted to inconveniences, and took upon himself duties, which he was unwilling to exact from his less hardy followers.

On the following day, August the 19th, they ascended the mountain ridge which separates the Niger from the remote branches of the Senegal. Having gained the summit, "I went on a little before," says Park; "and coming to the brow of the hill, *I once more saw the Niger rolling its immense stream along the plain!*" At half-past six o'clock, the same evening, they reached Bam-bakoo, where the river becomes navigable, and pitched their tents under a tree without the town.

This was the moment to which Park had fondly looked forward as the termination of his difficulties. He had hoped that henceforward little more awaited him than a pleasant voyage through countries interesting by their presenting, at every step, new discoveries to his view, and whose inhabitants he would have it in his power to conciliate by presents, or defy with security. Though too prudent in ordinary cases to give way to enthusiasm, he seems all along to have expected that, once afloat, the Niger, as if influenced by secret sympathy with the bold discoverer with whose name its own was already identified, was, with little effort or danger on his part, to bear him rapidly on its mighty bosom to that mysterious termination of its course, which had hitherto baffled every effort at discovery. But this happy dream was already partially dispelled. The difficulties which he had encountered since he left Kayee, and especially since his departure from Badoo,

were much greater than he had anticipated, and materially changed his future prospects. When he left this last mentioned village, on the 29th of May, his men were all in good health, and he confidently expected to reach the Niger in less than a month: more than eleven weeks had since passed away amid an unbroken series of difficulties and disasters; his soldiers had melted away under the influence of the climate, and the hardships of their tedious march; and the few who still survived were so wasted by sickness, that they were rather a burden upon his care, than fit assistants for any future enterprise. Of thirty-eight able-bodied men who accompanied him when he left the Gambia, only six soldiers and one carpenter reached the Niger. It is not wonderful that, under such circumstances of discouragement, Park's actual feelings at the sight of this majestic stream should have fallen so much short of the enthusiasm with which, at the commencement of his journey, he contemplated that event. His own reflections on this occasion do indeed partake rather of melancholy than of triumph. He writes, "After the fatiguing march, which we had experienced, the sight of this river was no doubt pleasant, as it promised an end to, or to be at least an alleviation of, our toils. But when I reflected that three-fourths of the soldiers had died on the march, and that, in addition to our weakly state, we had no carpenters to build the boats

in which we proposed to prosecute our discoveries, the prospect appeared somewhat gloomy." That his prospects were even of a more dispiriting nature than this measured language implies, we have a strong proof in his anxiety to escape from the painful subject to one which he could consider with rather more satisfaction, namely, the object which had been already gained by his journey from the coast. He goes on to say : " It, however, afforded me peculiar pleasure, when I reflected that in conducting a party of Europeans, with immense baggage, through an extent of more than five hundred miles, I had always been able to preserve the most friendly terms with the natives. In fact this journey plainly demonstrates, *first*, that with common prudence, any quantity of merchandise may be transported from the Gambia to the Niger, without being robbed by the natives : *secondly*, that if this journey be performed in the dry season, one may calculate on losing not more than three or at most four men out of fifty."

On the 22d of August, Park and his brother-in-law, Mr Anderson, embarked with all the baggage in two canoes, leaving Lieutenant Martyn and the men to go by land, on the asses, and join them beyond the rapids at Marraboo ; where they all arrived in the course of the following day. Here Park paid his guide, Isaaco, his stipulated hire of goods, to the full value of two prin slaves. He also made him an additional present

and told him that when he had settled matters with the King of Bambarra, he should then have all the asses and horses for his trouble. He had already resolved to send Isaaco to Segó with part of the presents destined for Mansong, in order, if possible, to put a stop to the malicious reports of the Moors, who dwell there in considerable numbers, and whose ill offices with the king he thought he had some reason to dread. While he waited the return of his envoy, he suffered much from dysentery, which had proved fatal to so many of his men. With his characteristic fearlessness, he immediately adopted the most vigorous remedies, and by a powerful course of mercury, got rid of the disease.

In about ten days after Isaaco's departure, Mansong's singing man, (an officer of great importance in most African courts,) arrived at Marraboo with a message from his master, who expressed his approbation of the present destined for him, and had sent him to conduct the white men to Segó without delay. This latter part of his instructions the musical envoy was in no particular hurry to perform. Whether it be owing to the nature of their profession, or to its precarious and scanty rewards, poets and musicians have always maintained a character for being partial to good cheer. Mansong's messenger, who united both professions in his own person, appears, in this respect, not to have done discredit

to the joyous science ; for Park complains, that he could not be prevailed upon for several days to leave the Dooty of Marraboo's good beef and beer. At last they embarked, and sailed pleasantly down the river, which is here described as being sometimes as smooth as a mirror ; at other times ruffled with a gentle breeze ; but at all times sweeping them along at the rate of six or seven miles per hour.

On their arrival at Samee, they were joined by Isaaco, who had several interviews with Mansong, who uniformly declared himself friendly to the expedition, but declined interesting himself in any of its details. A few days after, Park himself had a palaver with the prime minister, Modibinne, and four grandees, who paid him a visit to ascertain the motives of his journey. Park addressed them, in the Bambarran language, in a speech exactly calculated to impress his visitors with favourable sentiments towards himself and the object of his expedition. He reminded them of his former acquaintance with Mansong, who had not only given him permission to proceed through his dominions, but had also made him a present of five thousand cowries to purchase provisions on the road. This generous conduct, he added, had made Mansong's name much respected in the land of the white people, whose king had sent the present expedition for the purpose of opening up a friendly intercourse

with the people of Bambarra. He then explained the advantages to the Bambarrans of such intercourse. "You all know that the white people are a trading people; and that all the articles of value, which the Moors and the people of Jinnie bring to Segó, are made by us. If you speak of a *good gun*, who made it? the *white people*. If you speak of a good pistol or sword, or piece of scarlet, or baft,* or beads, or gunpowder, who made them? the *white people*. We sell them to the Moors; the Moors bring them to Timbuctoo, where they sell them at a *higher rate*. The people of Timbuctoo sell them to the people of Jinnie at a still higher price; and the people of Jinnie sell them to you. Now, the king of the white people wishes to find out a way by which we may bring our merchandise to you, and sell every thing at a much cheaper rate than you now have them. For this purpose, if Mansong will permit me to pass, I propose sailing down the Joliba, to the place where it mixes with the salt water; and if I find no rocks or danger in the way, the white men's small vessels will come up and trade at Segó, if Mansong wishes it." He then enjoined them to keep what he had now said a secret from the Moors, who would certainly murder him if they knew for what purpose he had arrived.

* Blue cloth of East Indian manufacture, much used as an article of commerce in the African trade.

This explanation seemed to be highly satisfactory to Modibinne and his friends, the former of whom replied, " We have heard what you have spoken. Your journey is a good one, and may God prosper you in it: Mansong will protect you." They then promised to inform their master of all that had passed, and to bring back his answer. They also expressed their satisfaction with the presents destined for Mansong, his son, and the principal grandees; and, after slightly inspecting the rest of his baggage, took their leave, and proceeded directly to Segó. They returned two days after, with Mansong's answer, granting full permission to Park and his company to travel in any direction they chose; and promising him that, so far as his dominions extended, the name of *Mansong's stranger* would be a sufficient protection for him and his party; adding, " If you wish to build your boats at Samee, or Segó, at Sansanding or Jinnie, name the town, and Mansong will convey you thither." This royal message concluded with Mansong's expressing a wish to purchase a few articles which his officers had seen among the baggage, and which Park took the opportunity of adding to his present.

Although the king's message was friendly, and in so far satisfactory, he had expressed no desire to see Park, who accordingly felt himself at liberty, instead of going to Segó, to proceed direct to Sansanding, as a more convenient place

of embarkation, and where he would be less exposed than at the capital to the shameless system of begging which pervades all classes of African society, from the lowest up to Dooties, and governors of provinces, and royalty itself. Mansong having inquired what return would be most acceptable to Park for his present, was informed that two large canoes would be most acceptable; he accordingly promised to send them without delay to Sansanding, where the expedition arrived on the 27th of September.

His majesty being in no great hurry to fulfil his promise, Park found it prudent to provide himself with a sufficient quantity of cowries, the current coin of the country, to enable him to purchase two canoes, in the event of Mansong's delaying his present much longer. He therefore opened shop in Sansanding, and exhibited a handsome assortment of European goods for sale. He had so great a run of business that he was obliged to employ three *tellers* at once to count his cash; and he describes himself, with humorous pomposity, as turning, in one market-day, twenty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-six *pieces of money*—that is to say, cowries. His success, however, had nearly proved fatal to him, for it exposed him to the envy of his brother merchants, who, making common cause with his implacable enemies, the Moors, at Sego, endeavoured to bribe Mansong, with merchandise to a greater amount of value than

Park's present, to put the white men to death, or seize their baggage, and send them back again out of Bambarra. This base proposal Mansong, much to his honour, rejected. Besides the danger of remaining any longer in a place where he was exposed to such attempts, Park became uneasy at the thought of farther delay on account of the season. The river was already beginning to subside : his little party was still diminishing, two more of the soldiers having died since their arrival at Sansanding ; and he was anxious to commence his voyage before the Moors in the countries through which he had to pass, being instructed by their brethren at Segou, should have time to make preparations for opposing his passage. At last, after receiving repeated messages, the king sent *one* canoe, the half of which was rotten ; and shortly after, at Park's urgent remonstrance, another almost equally bad. This was the more vexatious, as, from the large promises, and friendly messages of Mansong, Park felt himself entitled to more efficient assistance ; and to complete his misfortune, all the carpenters whom he brought with him from England had perished before the time when their services would have proved so valuable. However, with that energy which never forsook him under any unexpected difficulty, he immediately set about making the most of his scanty materials. He cut away the rotten half of either canoe, and joining together the sound parts,

contrived, with the assistance of one of his men, after eighteen days' hard labour, to change two bad canoes into his Majesty's schooner, *the Joliba*. The length of this vessel was forty feet, its breadth six feet; and being flat-bottomed, it drew, when loaded, only one foot of water. Inferior as it must have been to that which he had calculated on constructing with the aid of his English carpenters, he appears to have contemplated this work of his own hands with no small degree of complacency and satisfaction. It was, indeed, his only means of completing his perilous adventure, and we can conceive him as watching its progress, and viewing it when finished, with much of the same feeling with which Ulysses contemplated the rude ship which was to bear him from the island of Calypso to the shores of his beloved Ithaca.

Before he left Sansanding, Park experienced a misfortune which he felt more deeply than any event which had yet occurred,—the death of his brother-in-law. What impression it made upon him may be best learned from the following extract from his Journal. “October 28th, at a quarter past five o'clock in the morning, my dear friend, Mr Alexander Anderson, died after a sickness of four months. I feel much inclined to speak of his merits; but as his worth was known only to a few friends, I will rather cherish his memory in silence, and imitate his cool and steady

conduct, than weary my friends with a panegyric in which they cannot be supposed to join. I shall only observe, that no event which took place during the journey, ever threw the smallest gloom over my mind, till I laid Mr Anderson in the grave. I then felt myself as if left, a second time, lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa." Mr Anderson was buried near one of the principal mosques in Sansanding; the Dooty of the town, as a mark of respect, attending his body to the grave.

CHAPTER VIII.

Park despatches Isaaco with his Papers to the Gambia — Departs from Sansanding — Uncertainty of his Fate — Isaaco's Account, obtained from Amadi Fatouma — Confirmed by Lander — Remarks on Park's Last Expedition — His Character.

ON the 14th of November, the *schooner* was ready for sailing, and Park only waited for Isaaco's return from Segó, before he should commence his voyage. The priest arrived next day with a hint from Mansong that the expedition should depart without delay, lest the Moors of the east should have previous notice of Park's intention of visiting their neighbourhood. Park himself was anxious, from the same apprehension, to hasten his departure. He, accordingly, lost no time in making his final arrangements. He wrote letters to Mr Anderson, the father of his late companion, to Mrs Park, Sir Joseph Banks, and Lord Camden, which, together with his Journal, he forwarded by his guide, Isaaco, the Mandingo priest, whom he had engaged to accompany him thus far, and who was now about to return to the Gambia. The Journal has since been published, and in addition to the valuable information which it contains, with respect to Park's progress to Sansanding, and such knowledge as he had been able to obtain of the farther course

of the river as far as Timbuctoo, possesses a melancholy interest, as being the last authentic record that has reached England of this unfortunate expedition. His letters partake of the same interest, in a still greater degree, as they exhibit with less reserve both his feelings and his prospects at this time. That to his father-in-law is chiefly occupied with the details of Mr Anderson's illness and death, which he deploras in the language of the sincerest affection. In writing to Mrs Park, he is anxious to remove from her mind the fears on his own account which the intelligence of her brother's death was calculated to excite.

TO MRS PARK.

"SANSANDING, 19th November, 1805.

"It grieves me to the heart to write any thing that may give you uneasiness ; but such is the will of Him who *doeth all things well* ! Your brother Alexander, my dear friend, is no more ! He died of the fever at Sansanding, on the morning of the 28th of October : for particulars I must refer you to your father.

"I am afraid that, impressed with a woman's fears and the anxieties of a wife, you may be led to consider my situation as a great deal worse than it really is. It is true, my dear friends, Mr Anderson and George Scott, have both bid adieu to the things of this world ; and the greater part

of the soldiers have died on the march during the rainy season ; but you may believe me, I am in good health. The rains are completely over, and the healthy season has commenced, so that there is no danger of sickness, and I have still a sufficient force to protect me from any insult in sailing down the river to the sea.

“ We have already embarked all our things, and shall sail the moment I have finished this letter. I do not intend to stop nor land any where, till we reach the coast : which I suppose will be some time in the end of January. We shall then embark in the first vessel for England. If we have to go round by the West Indies, the voyage will occupy three months longer ; so that we expect to be in England on the first of May. The reason of our delay since we left the coast was the rainy season ; which came on us during the journey ; and almost all the soldiers became affected with the fever.

“ I think it not unlikely but I shall be in England before you receive this. You may be sure that I feel happy at turning my face towards home. We this morning have done with all intercourse with the natives ; and the sails are now hoisting for our departure for the coast.”

In his letter to Sir Joseph Banks, he expresses the same confident hope of a favourable termination of his voyage, and his expectation of reaching

the sea in about three months. "It is my intention," he says, "to keep the middle of the river, and make the best use I can of winds and currents, till I reach the termination of this mysterious stream. I have hired a guide to go with me to Kashna: he is a native of Kasson, but one of the greatest travellers in this part of Africa, having visited Miniana, Kong, Bædoo, Gotto, and Cape Coast Castle to the south, and Timbuctoo, Houssa, Nyfe, Kashna, and Bornou, towards the east. He says, that the Niger, after it passes Kashna, runs directly to the right hand, or the south: he never heard of any person who had seen its termination; and is certain that it does not end any where in the vicinity of Kashna or Bornou, having resided some time in both these kingdoms. He says our voyage to Kashna will occupy two months; that we touch on the Moors no where but at Timbuctoo;* the north bank of

* Park's extreme anxiety to avoid all intercourse with the Moors is sufficiently justified by his own experience of their cruelty and bad faith, both during his present expedition and formerly in Ludamar, and by the concurrent testimony of all European travellers in Africa. The character of these robbers by profession appears to have remained consistently bad for many centuries. Compare Park's recorded opinion, pp. 93, 94, with the description of them given by a Latin poet, who wrote in the time of the Emperor Theodosius:

His [Mauris, &c.] fluxa fides, et inhospita semper
Corda rigent, trahitur duris vaga vita rapinis.

Festi Avieni Orb. Ter. Descriptio.

the river, in all other places, being inhabited by a race of people resembling the Moors in colour, called Surka, Mahinga, and Tuarick, according to the different kingdoms they inhabit. I have, as yet, had only two conversations with my guide,* and they were chiefly occupied in adjusting money matters; but I have no doubt that I shall find him a very useful fellow-traveller." His letter to Lord Camden it is worth while to transcribe entire, as it exhibits in a strong light that manly fortitude and fixed determination of purpose, which qualified Park, above all others, for the difficult and dangerous enterprise upon which he was engaged.

TO THE EARL CAMDEN, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S
PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE, &c. &c.

" ON BOARD OF H. M. SCHOONER, JOLIBA,
AT ANCHOR OFF SANBANDING,
November 17, 1805.

" MY LORD,—I have herewith sent you an account of each day's proceedings since we left Kayee. Many of the incidents related are in themselves extremely trifling; but are intended to recall to my recollection, (if it pleases God to restore me again to my dear native land,) other particulars illustrative of the manners and customs

* Amadi Fatouma, of whom we shall have occasion to speak afterwards.

of the natives, which would have swelled this bulky communication to a most unreasonable size.

“ Your Lordship will recollect that I always spoke of the rainy season with horror, as being extremely fatal to Europeans ; and our journey from the Gambia to the Niger will furnish a melancholy proof of it.

“ We had no contest whatever with the natives, nor was any one of us killed by wild animals, or any other accidents ; and yet I am sorry to say, that of forty-four Europeans who left the Gambia in perfect health, five only are at present alive, namely, three soldiers, (one deranged in his mind,) Lieutenant Martyn, and myself.

“ From this account, I am afraid that your Lordship will be apt to consider matters as in a very hopeless state ; but I assure you I am far from desponding. With the assistance of one of the soldiers, I have changed a large canoe into a tolerably good schooner, on board of which I this day hoisted the British flag, and shall set sail to the east, with the fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt. I have heard nothing that I can depend on, respecting the remote course of this mighty stream ; but I am more and more inclined to think that it can end nowhere but in the sea.

“ My dear friend, Mr Anderson, and likewise Mr Scott, are both dead ; but though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and

though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere ; and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would at last die on the Niger.

“ If I succeed in the object of my journey, I expect to be in England in the month of May or June by way of the West Indies.

“ I request that your Lordship will have the goodness to permit my friend, Sir Joseph Banks, to peruse the abridged account of my proceedings, and that it may be preserved, in case I should lose my papers.—I have the honour to be, &c.

“ MUNGO PARK.”

There is something very noble in the tone which pervades this letter, especially if we take into consideration the disheartening circumstances under which it was written. The means upon which Park chiefly depended for the success of his expedition, had miserably failed him even before he reached the termination of his former journey : the great object of his enterprise was still distant and uncertain ; and he found himself on the eve of setting out on an expedition, with the probable extent of which, and its attendant difficulties, he was totally unacquainted, and in a condition which afforded little prospect of ultimate success or even safety. His past misfortunes, however, he had fortitude to bear, and the difficulties of his future course he had courage to contemplate with calmness. If he was not to have the glory of tracing this mysterious river to its termination, he would, at least, have the honour of perishing

in the attempt : he was aware that success was doubtful, or more than doubtful ; but though he could not command, he felt that it depended upon himself to deserve it. Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, did not manifest a nobler spirit of self-devotion than Park, when amid so many discouragements he declared his fixed resolution, " Though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere ; and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, *I would at last die on the Niger.*"

No account of a later date than the letters just quoted was received from Park or his associates. Isaaco left Sansanding on the 17th of November, on his return to Pisania, having seen Park with his company, now reduced to four white men, three slaves, and his new guide, Amadi Fatouma, sets sail in their little schooner. For several months, nothing farther was heard of them ; but in the course of the following year, unfavourable rumours were brought to the coast by some of the native traders. These were, for some time, of too vague a description to entitle them to much credit. An impression, however, was gaining ground, that some fatal accident had befallen the expedition, especially when months, and even years, glided on without bringing any intelligence from Park or his companions. No active steps, however, were adopted for ascertaining their fate, till towards the beginning of the year 1810, when the Governor of Senegal, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, engaged

the Mandingo priest, Isaaco, Park's guide to Sansanding, to proceed on a mission to ascertain, if possible, the fate of that adventurous traveller.

Isaaco, after an absence of rather more than twenty months, returned to Senegal on the 1st of September, 1813, with a full confirmation of the report, which had already reached the coast, of Park's death, with a minute detail of the circumstances attending that unfortunate event. These circumstances he had learned from Amadi Fatouma, the person hired by Park as his guide from Sansanding to Kashna, and who is the individual alluded to by him, in the extract given above from his letter to Sir Joseph Banks, as an intelligent and experienced traveller. This person, whom he himself had recommended to Park, Isaaco had the good fortune to fall in with at Madina, near Sansanding. On being questioned about Park, he began to weep, and immediately exclaimed, "They are all dead!" He afterwards gave Isaaco a detailed account of the proceedings of the expedition, from the time it left Sansanding till its unhappy termination at Boussa.

The information thus obtained from Amadi Fatouma, and engrossed in Isaaco's Journal, of which a translation has since been published, is our chief authority for what remains to be told of Park's personal history, and the fate of his expedition. It is right, therefore, that we should state, shortly, the grounds on which we think it

entitled to full credit; especially as, on its first appearance before the British public, its authority was greatly questioned, and many hesitated not to reject its statements altogether, characterizing the whole narrative as an incredible and ridiculous Arabian tale. This opinion, founded entirely on internal evidence, furnished by supposed inconsistencies and improbabilities in the document itself, was supported by very ingenious and plausible reasonings, to which we refer the curious reader as a proof how successfully some men, by excess of ingenuity, contrive to mislead themselves and others, to reject truth for the sake of specious error.* The very circumstance which was instanced as throwing discredit on the whole narrative, namely, the alleged locality and manner of Park's death, has since been amply confirmed by the recent discoveries of Clapperton and Lander. The principal event being thus verified, there is scarcely an excuse for questioning the general accuracy of the whole narrative, as neither Amadi Fatouma nor Isaaco could have any inducement to falsify the details of the intermediate route from Sansanding to Boussa. Besides, we have a farther security in the character of Isaaco himself, who appears, by Park's

* See, *inter alia*, "Remarks on the Journal of a mission to the interior of Africa," in the *Philanthropist* for July, 1815, and the *Edinburgh Review* for February, of the same year.

Journal, to have behaved with the greatest propriety during their long journey from the Gambia to Bambarra ; and Isaaco must have known to what confidence Amadi Fatouma was entitled, since it was he who recommended him to Park as an intelligent and trustworthy guide.* The occasional discrepancies and apparent inconsistencies which have been pointed out in this document, and which have sometimes been supposed to render it unworthy of credit, are in fact very trifling, and such only as might be expected under the circumstances. The journal of a semi-barbarous African trader, who reports the oral communications of men wholly illiterate, concerning events which had occurred five years before, cannot be expected to be without those little blemishes, which assume such magnitude in the microscopic eye of hypercritical reviewers. Colonel Maxwell, who had employed Isaaco on this mission, was perfectly satisfied with his diligence, and appears to have entertained no doubt of his veracity, for he immediately paid him a

* His own words are, " Amadi Fatouma being a good, honest, and upright man, I had placed him with Mr Park." This man had no interest in deceiving Isaaco in regard to Park's death, and we know now that his version of this event was quite correct ; much less had he any interest in giving a false account of the journey to Yaour, though hitherto there has been little opportunity of verifying this part of the narrative.

thousand dollars, the full reward which had been promised for obtaining certain intelligence of Park, and this was approved of by the Government at home.

Park, as has been already observed, left Sansanding on the 17th of November, in company with Lieutenant Martyn and three soldiers, being the only survivors of the expedition that had left the Gambia, together with three slaves and Amadi Fatouma, who acted in the double capacity of guide and interpreter. Their vessel, though somewhat clumsy, was not, in other respects, ill adapted for the navigation of the river, being flat bottomed, narrow, and schooner rigged, that she might sail with any wind, a matter of considerable importance in inland navigation through the windings of a river. In two days they arrived at Jenné, where they stopped to make a present to the chief: they afterwards proceeded on their voyage, without interruption, till they came to the lake Dibbie. Here they were attacked by three armed canoes, which they repulsed by force. A similar attempt was made at Kabra, or Rakbara, the port of Timbuctoo, and again at Gouroumo, both of which were in like manner repelled, though not till several of the natives had been killed. Soon after Park lost, by sickness, one of his men, who had, for some time past, been in a state of derangement. As they proceeded on their voyage towards the kingdom of Haussa, they

were frequently exposed to the hostility of the natives, who attacked them both from the banks of the river and from their canoes ; and, accordingly, they were obliged to stand on their defence during the greater part of their course down the river, which now flowed in a southerly direction. Fortunately they were well provided with fire arms and ammunition, and they had taken the precaution, before leaving the territory of Bambarra, of laying in a large stock of provisions, which enabled them to proceed without much communication with the shore while they had reason to suspect the intentions of the natives. At some distance from the village of Caffo, they were hailed by several of the inhabitants who were acquainted with the guide, and called out to him, " Amadi Fatouma, how can you pass through our country, without giving us any thing ?" But a few grains of amber, and some trinkets, sent away the remonstrants quite satisfied. During the remaining part of the voyage, the navigation appears to have been a good deal interrupted by shallows, and occasionally by rocks which barred the course of the river, and divided it into narrow and difficult channels,—a circumstance which we should scarcely have expected in such a river as the Niger, whose channel, much higher up, was generally more than a couple of miles in breadth. This was, in fact, one of the objections made to the probability of Amadi Fatouma's narrative; but

we now know that this is actually the character of the river, both at Boussa, and in other parts of its course still nearer the sea. Having passed Carmasse, they anchored before Gouroumo, where the guide went on shore to buy some rice, onions, fowls, and other fresh provisions ; and here Park received a friendly warning from the chief, who sent him word that it would be well to be on his guard against a body of armed men who were waiting for him at a little distance in advance, posted on a high mountain that commanded the river. He, therefore, deemed it prudent to remain where he was all night ; and next morning he passed by the mountain, where he saw a troop of Moors, with their horses and camels, but without fire arms, who allowed him to pass without interruption.

They were now in the kingdom of Haussa, where Amadi Fatouma's engagement was to end. Before dismissing him, Park addressed him, " Now, Amadi, you are at the end of your journey ; I engaged you to conduct me here ; you are going to leave me, but before you go, you must give me the names of the necessaries of life, &c. in the language of the countries through which I am going to pass." To this his guide readily consented, and he remained with him for two days longer, till they arrived at Yaour or Yaorie. Here Amadi landed with a musket and a sabre for the Dooty, and some pieces of

baft for distribution. He was also commissioned to give the Dooty some silver rings, flints, and gunpowder, as a present for the king, who dwelt at some little distance from the river. After the Dooty had received these things, he inquired whether the white men intended to come back? Park being told of this, gave him to understand that *he could not return any more*. This answer is supposed, not without some appearance of reason, to have occasioned the death of the unfortunate traveller, for the Dooty was induced, by the certainty of Park's not returning, to withhold his present from the king, who, supposing that he had been slighted, and confirmed in his suspicions by a message from the avaricious chief of Yaour, resolved to avenge himself on the author of this imaginary affront. He first of all ordered Amadi Fatouma to be put in prison, and then sent an armed band to the town of Boussa, to intercept Park on his passage down the river. They occupied for this purpose a very advantageous position, where a ridge of rock, stretching across the whole breadth of the river, makes it innavigable, except at one large opening through which the water passes.* The rock at this place is very high, and completely commands the passage. Here the king's troops posted themselves,

* Lander, who visited the spot in 1830, says the river is not a stone-cast across in this place.

and when Park endeavoured to pass, poured down upon him a shower of lances, pikes, arrows, and large stones. The gallant little band of adventurers defended themselves bravely for some time, till they were overpowered by numbers and fatigue, having to contend at the same time with their armed assailants, and with the strength of the current. Park, seeing no probability of safety except by swimming, threw himself with one of his companions into the stream, Lieutenant Martyn doing the same with the other white man ; but they were all drowned or killed in the attempt to escape. As for the slaves, two of them were killed, and the other, finding himself alone in the boat, implored mercy, and was carried with the canoe to the king. From this slave, Amadi Fatouma, after his release from prison, received his account of this tragic termination of Park's expedition and life.

The only relic which Isaaco was able to procure, was a swordbelt, which the King of Yaour had converted into a girth for his horse. As it was of the utmost importance to him that he should be able to produce, on his return to the Gambia, some satisfactory proof of the correctness of the intelligence given him by Amadi, he had hired a Poule to go to Yaour, and by all means, or at any price, to obtain possession of any thing that had belonged to Park. The swordbelt already mentioned was the only thing that he could

discover, and having bribed one of the king's female attendants to steal it for him, he brought it to Isaaco, who soon after returned with it to Senegal. Before leaving Sego, however, he presented himself before Dacha the King, who had now succeeded his father Mansong, and related to him all that he had learned of the fate of Park, and the treachery of the King of Haussa. Dacha, influenced by a regard to the obligations under which he was placed, agreeably to the general custom among barbarous nations, and specially acknowledged by the African code of honour, to avenge any injury offered to his father's guest, or perhaps glad to avail himself of a pretext for a marauding expedition, immediately assembled his army, and gave his chiefs orders to go and destroy the kingdom of Haussa. This army Isaaco accompanied part of the way; but having proceeded beyond Timbuctoo, they became alarmed at the prospect of advancing farther, and having made an irruption into Massina, a territory subject to Haussa, they carried off the cattle of the inhabitants, and returned home with their booty.

Such is the information contained in Isaaco's Journal, and, however improbable some of its statements may have appeared when unsupported by other evidence, it has since been confirmed in almost every essential point. Captain Clapperton, in 1826, visited Boussa, and saw the very spot where Park and his unfortunate companions

perished. It corresponds exactly with the description of it given in Amadi Fatouma's journal. He also, though not without difficulty, drew from the natives a full confirmation of the version already given of the manner and circumstances of Park's death; which, however, they ascribed to his being mistaken for a chief of the Felatahs, who were then ravaging Soudan, and from whom they were in daily expectation of a hostile visit.*

Richard Lander, who had accompanied Captain Clapperton on his journey in 1826, again visited Boussa in 1830, and thence proceeded north to Yaour, the chief of which had formerly endeavoured to induce Clapperton to pay him a visit, by pretending that he had in his possession certain papers belonging to Mungo Park, which he was willing to deliver to him, on condition of his proceeding to Yaour to pay his respects to him. The same inducement was held out to Lander; but after several interviews with the chief, and being put off for some time under several pretences, he at length found reason to believe, that the wily African had held out this imaginary treasure as a lure to induce white men to visit him, that he might more securely fleece them of their property, and that, in fact, no such papers had ever been in his possession. Both at Yaour and at Boussa, Mr Lander received accounts similar to that

* See Appendix.

which has been inserted above, on the authority of Amadi Fatouma, respecting the fate of Park's expedition ; though the inhabitants of both places were extremely anxious to shift from themselves to their neighbours the whole blame of that cruel catastrophe. In Boussa, Lander procured a *tobe*, or cloak, which had belonged to Park ; he was also shewn a quarto volume, consisting chiefly of tables of logarithms, and containing between the leaves some loose papers of no value but as relics of Park and his unfortunate companions. One was a tailor's bill on Mr Anderson : another, which appears to have been a manuscript of Park, contained some observations on the height of the water in the Gambia.

Among these papers was the following card addressed to " Mr Mungo Park :"—

" Mr and Mrs Watson would be happy to have the pleasure of Mr Park's company, at dinner, on Tuesday next, at half past five o'clock.

" An answer is requested.

" STRAND, 9th November, 1804."

These were the only papers belonging to Park, which, on the most diligent inquiry, could be found at Boussa. Mr Lander afterwards discovered a cutlass and a double-barrelled gun, which had formed part of Park's present to the Sultan of Yaour ; the latter he brought with him to England, having given in exchange for it his own fowling-piece.

Thus unfortunately perished Mungo Park in the thirty-fifth year of his age, after having surmounted the principal difficulties of his extraordinary enterprise, and when he was on the point of bringing it to a happy termination. Boussa is at no great distance from Brass Fort, where the Niger falls into the sea; and a few weeks' easy sail through fertile and friendly countries, and borne along without effort on the broad bosom of the Quorra, would have conveyed his Majesty's schooner, *the Joliba*, and her hardy crew, to the ocean, which Park, with proper British feeling, had always contemplated as *home*. But the Disposer of all human events had ordered it otherwise: "One soweth and another reapeth;" Park had laboured more, and more successfully, in the field of African discovery than any one individual who before or since has turned his attention to the same object; but he was not permitted to enjoy the triumph which he may be said to have already achieved, when he found the *Joliba* changing its course to the south, and identified with the waters of the Quorra. His country also has been deprived of such information as it is reasonable to suppose his lost Journal must have contained, respecting the course of the river, and the countries through which it flows, between Sansanding and Boussa. Part of this tract has, it is true, been since traversed by other European adventurers; but the superior

intelligence, patient investigation, and unquestioned veracity of Park, qualified him in so pre-eminent a degree for the task of illustrating the condition of countries so little known, that we cannot sufficiently deplore the disastrous event which deprived his country of the fruits of his past observation, at the same time that it extinguished for ever all chance of his future services.

Park's Journal, including an account of his proceedings, from his departure from Kayee, till he was ready to embark at Sansanding, was brought by his guide Isaaco to the Gambia, and thence transmitted to England. It was afterwards published in 1815, together with the journals of Isaaco and Amadi Fatouma. It was also accompanied with a biographical memoir of Park, drawn up with great accuracy of information, and with much elegance. Why the publication of Park's own manuscript should have been so long delayed, has not been accounted for, and is perhaps a matter of too little moment to require explanation, though it has given rise to certain suspicions against those to whom the publication was intrusted, of being influenced by interested motives. For these suspicions, however, there appears to be no ground whatever, except the severity of the editor's strictures on Park's neutrality with regard to the Slave Trade, and his literary connection with Mr Bryan Edwards,—subjects which have already been fully

discussed in the account formerly given of Park's first publication. These strictures, indeed, whether just or unmerited, could only be considered as expressing the editor's individual opinion, were it not for the peculiar circumstances under which the publication appeared. Park's papers had been transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who, probably through inadvertence, placed them in the hands, not of Park's early patrons, the African *Association*, but of the African *Institution*, a society recently formed for the purpose of carrying into effect the abolition of the Slave Trade, at the head of which was Mr Wilberforce, with authority to publish them if they should deem it expedient. The directors did not avail themselves of this privilege till 1815, when the Journal appeared, with the memoir already mentioned, the task of drawing up which they confided to one of their own members.* These facts, taken in connection with the well known zeal of the Institution in promoting its avowed object, of carrying into effect the total abolition of the slave traffic, naturally excited the suspicion that they might be unduly anxious

* *Edinburgh Review* for February, 1815. "The task of preparing these documents for the press, and of writing the life of the traveller, as well as furnishing such geographical and other elucidations as were necessary for the full understanding of the subject, was confided by the Institution to one of its Directors."

to make the publication of Park's manuscripts conducive to the same object; but with the exception of the strictures already alluded to,* which, however, bear principally upon Park's former publication, and which certainly occupy an unnecessarily prominent place in the account of his life, there appears to have been no reason for charging the Institution with any thing like unfairness. Park's manuscript was published in its original form of a journal, without alteration; and this was all that the public had a right to expect.

The journal thus published, contains the only authentic account of this ill-fated expedition, and in this respect possesses to us the highest interest. It is also valuable for its information on several subjects connected with the geography and natural history of that part of Africa which the traveller now traversed for the first time. It ought, however, in justice, to be regarded rather as the author's memoranda for an extended account, which he afterwards intended to give to the public, than as a complete narrative; and with this allowance it will be acknowledged not to fall short, either in interest or in value, of his former publication.

The disappointment which must naturally have

* See the most important of these charges rebutted in the *Quarterly Review*, April, 1815.

been created by the failure of an expedition which had excited such sanguine expectations in the public mind, was in a great measure swallowed up by an universal sympathy for the fate of its gallant commander. The great object for which it was undertaken was for a moment forgotten, and the personal fate of Park formed the sole topic of interest to his countrymen. Even when every hope of his being still alive had died away, and no doubt remained of his having fallen a sacrifice to the hostility of the natives, the public felt less disposed to investigate into the causes of his miscarriages than to lament the loss of a brave and enterprising individual who had already earned the admiration and lasting gratitude of his country by his past discoveries. As long as this feeling was fresh upon men's minds, to have taxed Park with imprudence would have had the appearance of uncalled for harshness; and the public yielded a willing conviction to his apologists, when they ascribed the failure of the expedition to unforeseen circumstances and accidents over which Park had no control. The time has arrived, however, when the same necessity for overstrained delicacy no longer exists. Park's name is already the property of history: his fame is too well established, and the general prudence, firmness, and sagacity of his character too generally acknowledged, to suffer very seriously from a dispassionate inquiry into his

conduct, and a candid admission of the errors into which he may occasionally have fallen.

It cannot have been overlooked by any one who has attentively perused the preceding narrative, that the principal part of Park's misfortunes arose from his fatal resolution to proceed to the Niger at the risk of encountering all the horrors of the rainy season. To this rash determination we may also trace his ultimate failure; for though his death is to be ascribed in part to accident, yet it is not probable that such an accident would have occurred had he not previously lost almost every individual of that little band of brave men who accompanied him from the banks of the Gambia, and who melted away like snow beneath the heat of summer, under the fatal influence of the unhealthy season. In adopting a resolution which was attended with such disastrous consequences, Park's usual prudence seems to have forsaken him. He could not indeed have foreseen all the accidents which it was his misfortune to experience in the course of his journey; but he was sufficiently acquainted, both with the nature of African travelling, which is always subject to many uncertainties and delays, and with the terrible effect of exposure to the weather, aggravated by the fatigues of a long march during the rainy months, to have made him shrink from periling the success of his enterprise on so great and obvious a risk. It is true there was a bare

possibility of his reaching the Niger before the commencement of the great rains, and he himself professes to have confidently calculated upon his doing so ; but such an expectation was evidently rather suggested by a blind eagerness to get afloat, than warranted by calm reflection. His departure from Kayee, on the Gambia, had been delayed till the 27th of April. He arrived at Badoo on the 28th of May ; and in his letter to Mrs Park, calculates on reaching the Niger in about a month after, having already, as he says, performed half the journey. In both respects, however, he appears to have fallen into a great error. The distance between Kayee and Badoo is little more than a third of the whole journey between the former and Bammakoo, where the Niger becomes navigable. Besides, the excessive heats and tornadoes which precede the rainy season had already commenced, and began to affect the health of his men : from this circumstance, and the bad state of the roads, his future journeys, he knew, would be more fatiguing, and his day's march necessarily shorter than hitherto ; so that not even a chance remained of his escaping the heavy rains which usually begin to fall towards the middle of June. And when it is remembered that he did not actually arrive at Bammakoo till the 19th of August, more than seven weeks beyond the time on which he had calculated as sufficient for the journey, although he had expe-

rienced on his march few interruptions, besides those which naturally might have been anticipated from the state of the country and the inclemency of the season, we cannot entirely exculpate Park from the charge of rashness and imprudence, in proceeding with his expedition under circumstances so hopeless.

But if his conduct cannot be altogether justified, it admits of much extenuation. The original cause of all his misfortunes lay with the Government at home, which, in spite of his urgent remonstrances, delayed his departure from England till there was little probability of his being able to reach the Niger before the commencement of the unhealthy season. The tediousness of his passage to Goree, and the unexpected difficulties which he encountered in procuring proper beasts of burden, rendered his situation still more precarious ; so that when he was ready to leave Pisania, on the 4th of May, he was on the very eve of that season which his own former experience, and that of all African travellers, taught him to dread as his most formidable enemy. He was therefore placed in the difficult dilemma of hazarding the success of the expedition by proceeding boldly in the face of certain suffering, and all but certain destruction, or of remaining inactive on the Gambia for seven months, increasing the expense, disappointing the hope, and perhaps incurring the censure of that Government whose responsible servant he was, and by whose

orders, which had not, however, been able to contemplate his present circumstances, he felt himself bound to abide. That the fatal effects of the season have not been exaggerated in our view of the circumstances which principally conduced to the failure of the expedition, is proved by Park's own acknowledgment, that one may calculate on losing not more than three, or at most four men out of fifty in performing the same journey during the dry season; yet, in the present instance, out of a body of thirty-four soldiers, and four carpenters, most of whom he himself describes as picked men, already inured in some measure to an African climate, scarcely a sixth part survived the march, and even of this small number the majority were in so weak a state as to be altogether unfit for any exertion; and soon sank under their sufferings. It is evident, then, that had the expedition set forward, as was originally intended, at a proper season of the year, Park might have reached Bammakoo with at least thirty-two efficient men, besides his three coadjutors, Messrs Anderson and Scott, and Lieutenant Martyn; a force quite sufficient to protect him from any insult which he might expect to meet during his voyage down the river: and he would, besides, have been able to construct for himself a proper vessel, instead of having to depend upon the King of Bambarra for assistance, and being at last obliged to rest satisfied with two crazy and half-rotten canoes.

It was doubtless the defenceless situation in which they found him, and the certainty of his falling an easy prey to their attack, that tempted the people of Boussa to intercept his passage, and led to the melancholy catastrophe which we have had occasion to record.

But it is idle to regret, and invidious to dwell upon, the fatal decision which was followed by so long a train of suffering and disaster. A more pleasing object is presented to our view in contemplating the courage and conduct displayed by Park under all the discouragements and difficulties of his unhappy situation. His one great error, which, after all, was one rather of feeling than of judgment, furnished him in its consequences with ample opportunities of displaying that wonderful vigour of mind, fertility of resources, prudence and humanity, which have exalted his character above that of any traveller in modern times. It is strange, that, after all the proofs furnished to the contrary in his journal, he should still be accused by some of having lost, during this second expedition, that admirable calmness and temper which he is universally acknowledged to have displayed in his former journey. The charge is at once illiberal and unjust. With the single exception to which we have already adverted, and in which he acquiesced rather from a sense of duty than from conviction of its abstract propriety, his conduct, so far as we have the

means of judging, appears to have been marked, under the trying circumstances of his new situation, with even more of his characteristic virtues than he had ever before manifested. In order to appreciate fully his merits, we must keep in view the peculiar difficulties of his situation, — hourly harassed, both in body and mind — exposed incessantly to petty vexations, and real dangers of the first magnitude—obliged to cultivate the good will of the natives, and at the same time to repress their encroachments—surrounded by the sick and the dying, who looked to him for sympathy—and urged, by his regard for the general safety, to watch over the whole, to assist the weary, encourage the dispirited, and spur on the indolent, — if we consider all this—and it is only an inadequate description of what Park had to do and to suffer in the conduct of his arduous enterprise—we must acknowledge, that seldom has the temper of any man been tried so severely, and still more seldom has it so nobly stood the trial. After the commencement of the wet season especially, his labours increased so much that it is matter of astonishment that he did not entirely sink under the weight. He saw the companions of his journey drop one after another into their untimely graves. His own more especial friends followed. Mr Scott was the first victim; and Mr Anderson, connected with him by a most endearing tie, and whom he loved as a very

brother, soon after left him once again friendless, and almost literally "alone" amid the deserts of Africa. But the dauntless spirit which carried him safe through the perils of his former journey supported him amid these new disasters: he hoped even against hope; and his last letter from Sansanding, where he had deposited the dearest and almost the last of his companions in the grave, and just as he was entering, with means so miserably crippled, upon what he must have known to be the most dangerous, and expected to find the longest part of his journey, exhibits the same resolute and even cheerful tone which pervades his earlier correspondence, when he was yet free to indulge in golden dreams of all but certain success. Nor must it be forgotten to his praise, that with the spirit of a hero he blended the nobler feelings of a Christian; omitting no duty, and sacrificing no principle, where temptations to neglect both were frequently presented to him. Of the difficulties which he had to encounter after his departure from Sansanding, we have no account, except such meagre hints as are afforded by Amadi Fatouma's narrative; but they were, no doubt, considerable, and probably equalled what he had experienced during the previous part of his journey. This, however, is a subject, with regard to which we must rest in comparative ignorance. But Lander, who had himself some experience of the navigation, though

under more favourable circumstances, in his progress from Boussa to Yaour, has borne testimony to the indefatigable perseverance and toilsome exertion which were required for such a voyage. "The enterprising Park," he observes, "must have had a thousand difficulties to overcome in his voyage down the Niger. It was about this time of the year (June) that he arrived at Yaoori, and the river, it is said, was then about the same height as it is at present. The canoe men, who in all probability were his slaves, were said to be chained to the canoe, in order to prevent their running away; his pilot was unacquainted with the river any farther, and, therefore, he received his wages here, in Yaorie, and returned to his own country; and Mr Park, with a companion and three white boys, continued their journey down the Niger, without any person whatever to point out the safest channel, or warn them of their danger. When the accident happened at Boossa, by which they lost their lives, it is said they preferred being drowned, to avoid, as they imagined, a more dreadful death."*

It is scarcely necessary to point out one or two inaccuracies into which Mr Lander has fallen in this extract, probably from an imperfect recollection of what he had read in Isaaco's journal, or from loose reports which prevailed at Yaour. His testimony is quoted for the

* Lander's Journal, vol. ii. pp. 34-5.

purpose of shewing, on unquestionable authority, that Park's labours did not cease with his embarkation at Sansanding; and that the record of his sufferings during this fatal expedition, though the details preserved in that portion of his journal which we possess are sufficiently numerous and distressing, is still imperfect, and describes only a part of what he endured. That he at last voluntarily courted death is altogether improbable, and appears to be a clumsy attempt on the part of the natives, to exonerate themselves from the charge of his death; but there is no reason to doubt, that he was actually drowned in attempting to effect his escape by swimming.*

Mungo Park was admirably qualified, by the constitution both of his mind and of his body, for that life of enterprise to which, fortunately for his own fame and for the cause of science, he early attached himself. His person was tall and muscular, and united great bodily strength with an extraordinary capacity of enduring fatigue. He had, from early youth, been accustomed to exercise himself in the manly sports of his native county, which, at the same time that they strengthened his frame, taught him that skill and activity to which, during his perilous wanderings, he was more than once indebted

* Amadi Fatouma in his journal expressly says that Park was drowned "in attempting to escape."

for the preservation of his life. His early voyage to India had also, in some measure, prepared his constitution for encountering the tropical heats of Africa; and his knowledge of medicine, joined with his temperate habits, taught him to avoid many dangers to which others have ignorantly or imprudently exposed themselves, and suffered death as the penalty. Perhaps no traveller ever encountered more hardships than Park, during his first journey in Africa. He traversed nearly three thousand miles, a great part of it on foot, of a barbarous country, exposed to the extreme heats and the violent storms of its unhealthy climate, being frequently on the point of perishing from thirst and hunger, and exposed continually to the attacks of savage beasts, and the hostility of scarcely less savage men. Yet his fortitude never forsook him, and his hardy constitution carried him safe through hardships such as no European had hitherto outlived. The dangers to which he was exposed during his second expedition, were, in some respects, less formidable; yet, when we bear in mind that from the fatal effects of the climate alone, out of an expedition consisting of forty-four men, only five survived by the time they were ready to embark at Sansanding; and recollect, farther, that during the journey, he not only shared the fatigue of his men, but actually relieved individuals, by discharging in his own

person their duties, and was frequently the only efficient man of the whole party, we may judge how admirably qualified Park was, by bodily constitution, for exploring a country, to a minute acquaintance with which the fatal influence of its climate on the European frame has hitherto presented an insurmountable obstacle.

With regard to the nobler qualifications of a traveller, intelligence, mental energy, accurate observation, fidelity, sagacity, and prudence, no one has ever surpassed, and few have equalled Mungo Park. All these qualities are sufficiently conspicuous in his own interesting narrative; and the author has been assured, by those who knew him most intimately, that they formed a prominent part of his character in private life, though seldom so powerfully called into exercise as when thrown entirely upon his individual resources, amid those scenes of difficulty and danger in which his African journey often involved him.

His talents were rather of a solid than of a brilliant order. What he knew, he knew accurately, for his knowledge was obtained by patient investigation, not by those hasty flights with which men of quicker apprehension skim the surface of things with more apparent than real success. He traversed the road of science on foot, and, accordingly, had better opportunities of being thoroughly acquainted with the various objects which it presents to the view of the traveller, than can possibly be

enjoyed by him who is whirled over its surface in the rapid chariot of his own lofty genius. One remarkable feature in his character was, that he possessed in a very eminent degree two qualities, which are so seldom to be met with in the same mind that they have been supposed incompatible,—an ardent enterprising temperament, and a correct severe chastened judgment. The adventurous undertakings on which he was so ready to embark, abundantly prove his love of enterprise; while in maturing his plans and carrying them into execution, in circumstances of unexpected difficulty, amid dangers and disasters, his strong good sense, calmness, and temper, were ever signally displayed.

In all the relations of domestic life, Park's conduct was most exemplary, and his character eminently distinguished by those virtues which constitute a good citizen and an amiable man. As a son, a husband, and a parent, he neglected no claim either of duty or of affection. His friendship was not easily acquired, for he was ever of a shy, retired, though not suspicious, temper; but once obtained, it was particularly valuable, for as his confidence was never hastily proffered, it was never capriciously withdrawn. To strangers his calm reserved manner had sometimes the appearance of apathy and total want of feeling; but his own family and the select circle of his personal friends, had ample opportunities of appreciating the warmth of his attachments, and the generosity

of his sentiments. Even his dearest friends, however, were sometimes ignorant of the designs that lay nearest to his heart, and formed the subject of his secret meditations ; but if his conduct, in this respect, may seem to detract from that openness and unlimited confidence which friendship is supposed to require, let us not forget that the obtrusion of confidence is often less a proof of the depth of our attachment to our friends, than the result of mere incontinence of purpose. Park was superior to the weakness of communicating half formed designs, when no advantage was to be derived from his confidence, but the mere pleasure of talking ; and he was above the meanness of seeking to obtain that credit for the first sketch of his projected structure, which is merited only by its happy execution,—like a child who insists upon his friends admiring every new scratch of his pencil, too impatient to wait till he has finished his picture.

From vanity, too often the birth of such praise as Park early attained from the publication of his Travels, he was entirely free. The caresses of the fashionable world, which are so freely lavished on the popular favourite of the day, he received with as much indifference as is compatible with decency. As a *lion*, to use the fashionable term, he was intractable as any which the deserts of his own favourite Africa ever nursed ; but he resembled that noble

animal rather in his dignified unwillingness to shew off for the amusement of his curious visitors, than by any positive indications of impatience or savage ferocity. The more flattering notice of men of literary and scientific eminence—of those whose approbation is fame—he received with gratitude and real satisfaction, but without any marks of that intoxication which men are apt to exhibit, who have been suddenly raised from obscurity into occupying a prominent place in the public eye. His native, manly, and simple character, he retained under all the circumstances of his life, as will always be the case where energy of feeling is found united with that strength of mind, and steady determination of purpose, which qualify a man to lead in great and difficult enterprises. We, accordingly, find him little affected by the mere accidents of life, which exert so powerful an influence on men of ordinary character: in captivity at Benown—plundered by robbers—insulted by petty governors—forced to beg the coarsest food from the wretched Negro, whom the prejudices of country and education had taught him to regard as little superior to the brute creation—Park appears never, for a moment, to have lost that dignity of virtue which can accommodate itself to meanness of circumstances, without derogating from its own worth.

Perhaps no man of equally humble pretensions ever excited so general an interest among his

countrymen, or more powerfully moved their sympathy. No doubt, this is in a great measure to be ascribed to the character of the enterprise in which he was engaged, and to the mystery and uncertainty which long hung over his fate; but much, also, may fairly be set down to a feeling purely personal to himself. His character, taken in connection with the history of his life, was admirably calculated to make that sort of impression on the public mind which mankind has ever shewn the greatest desire to cherish. He blended the virtues of a hero of romance—ardour of enterprise, generosity, and contempt for danger—with the more sober, but still more valuable qualities of sagacity, calmness, and good sense. It is the rare union of these qualities, in themselves so admirable, but which are seldom found united in the same person, which renders the character of Park so truly great, and which makes the record of his life; to use the language of a judicious critic,* “in the highest degree interesting, not merely to those who care about Africa, or the great schemes to his zeal for which he fell a martyr, but to all who take delight in the spectacle of unbounded courage and heroic ardour, unalloyed with any taint of ferocity, selfishness, or bigotry.”

Any farther panegyric on a man whose merits are now universally acknowledged, would be

* *Edinburgh Review*, February, 1815.

superfluous. His highest praise is to be found in a faithful record of his life. Such a record we have here attempted to trace; and, having now brought the narrative to a close, our task is finished. The sketch, however, is necessarily imperfect; for without actually transcribing the whole of his own interesting narratives, no adequate justice can be done to his almost incredible exploits and sufferings—"sufferings," to borrow once more the language of the writer already quoted, "borne with an unaffected cheerfulness of magnanimity, which must both exalt and endear him to all who are capable of being touched with what is generous and noble in character; and exploits performed with a mildness and modesty, and kindness of nature, not less admirable than the heroic firmness and ardour with which they were conjoined."

From a character so amiable and so excellent who can withhold his admiration! and when we reflect upon his premature and melancholy death, who can help experiencing a deep feeling of pity for his unhappy fate, and regret, that talents so eminently calculated to promote the cause of science and humanity should so soon have been lost to his country and to mankind!

We cannot close this Memoir of the great African traveller more appropriately than with the following beautiful tribute to his memory, by an anonymous writer in Blackwood's Magazine:

THE NEGRO'S LAMENT FOR MUNGO PARK.

1.

Where the wild Joliba
 Rolls his deep waters,
 Sate at their evening toil
 Afric's dark daughters :
 Where the thick mangroves
 Broad shadows were flinging,
 Each o'er her lone loom
 Bent mournfully singing—
 " Alas ! for the white man ! o'er deserts a ranger,
 No more shall we welcome the white-bosom'd stranger !

2.

" Through the deep forest
 Fierce lions are prowling ;
 'Mid thickets entangling
 Hyenas are howling ;
 There should he wander,
 Where danger lurks ever ;
 To his home where the sun sets,
 Return shall he never.
 Alas ! for the white man ! o'er deserts a ranger,
 No more shall we welcome the white-bosom'd stranger !

3.

" The hands of the Moor
 In his wrath do they bind him ?
 Oh ! seal'd is his doom
 If the savage Moor find him.
 More fierce than hyenas,
 Through darkness advancing,
 Is the curse of the Moor,
 And his eyes' fiery glancing !
 Alas ! for the white man ! o'er deserts a ranger,
 No more shall we welcome the white-bosom'd stranger !

4.

" A voice from the desert !
 My wilds do not hold him ;

Pale thirst doth not rack,
 Nor the sand-storm enfold him.
 The death-gale pass'd by,
 And his breath fail'd to smother,
 Yet ne'er shall he wake
 To the voice of his mother !
 Alas ! for the white man ! o'er deserts a ranger,
 No more shall we welcome the white-bosom'd stranger !

5.

“ O loved of the lotus
 Thy waters adorning,
 Pour, Joliba ! pour
 Thy full streams to the morning !
 The Halcyon may fly
 To thy wave as her pillow ;
 But wo to the white man,
 Who trusts in thy billow !
 Alas ! for the white man ! o'er deserts a ranger,
 No more shall we welcome the white-bosom'd stranger !

6.

“ He lanch'd his light bark,
 Our fond warnings despising,
 And sail'd to the land
 Where the day-beams are rising.
 His wife from her bower
 May look forth in her sorrow,
 But he shall ne'er come
 To her hope of to-morrow !
 Alas ! for the white man ! o'er deserts a ranger,
 No more shall we welcome the white bosom'd stranger !”

Park's family consisted of four children,—three sons, and one daughter. Mungo, the eldest son, obtained the situation of assistant-surgeon in India, where he died of cholera, very soon after his arrival.

Thomas, the second son, with a striking personal resemblance to his unfortunate father, inherited a large portion of his spirit and love of enterprise. He was a midshipman in the navy; and, by permission of the Lords of the Admiralty, left his ship, the *Sybil*, when on the coast of Africa, to proceed to the interior, with the view of ascertaining the fate of his unfortunate father. He landed at Accra in June, 1827; and, after some time spent in learning the Ashantee language, commenced his journey, but shortly after fell a victim to that fatal climate.*

* The following notice of this promising and unfortunate young man occurs in Professor Jameson's account of the Geology of Africa, in a very interesting volume, *Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa*, Edinburgh, 1830.

“ Our young friend and pupil, Thomas Park, son of the celebrated but unfortunate Mungo Park, possessing the enthusiasm and courage of his father, determined on traversing Africa, with the view of ascertaining the history of his father's fate, at that time in some degree unknown, and also of enlarging our knowledge of its natural history and geography. He was landed, by order of Government, at Accra, on the west coast, in 5° N. The last letter we received from this promising young traveller,—for shortly after the commencement of his journey he perished,—was as follows:—‘ ACCRA, 17th September, 1827. I intend to set off to-morrow morning. I have been, as you know, three months here, during which time I have been principally busy with the study of the Ashantee language. Some time ago, I made an excursion of about fifty miles into the interior, by way of experiment, and did not fail to look around me and notice

The youngest son, Archibald, is at present a lieutenant in the Bengal army.

Elizabeth is married to Henry Werter Meredith, Esq. of Pentry-Bichen, Denbighshire.

Mrs Park, the traveller's widow, is still alive.

the rocks and other natural productions. I have only time to say, that the valley of Accra is about twelve miles in breadth, and fifty miles in length; the bottom is covered with a soft sandstone, and this sandstone, in one place, was observed resting upon clay-slate. The mountains forming the sides of this long valley, as far as I could observe, appeared composed of quartz rock and clay-slate, alternating with each other, and disposed in strata ranging S. S. W. and N. N. E., the dip from 30° to 80° [the direction of the dip not mentioned.] *The quartz rock contains grains of gold, as I ascertained by careful examination.* In some blocks of rock, (*syenite*,) I noticed a good many crystals of sp hene, and in one place saw what I considered to be black manga nese ore. It is very hard and heavy, and is fashioned by the Ashantees into balls. The cover of alluvium in the bottom of the valley, and extending down to the seacoast, is of such a nature as to lead me to conjecture that it is of marine origin, and, therefore, that the sea formerly extended a long way inland. The bases of the hills are richly clothed with trees; but these diminish in number towards the coast, where there occurs only a bush here and there.'

“ The occurrence of gold in the quartz rock, as ascertained by Mr Park, is a very interesting observation, as it allows us to infer that, probably, much of the gold collected in Africa may have been derived originally from this kind of rock, which, in its broken down and disintegrated state, may have formed the sands and gravels in which gold dust is generally found.

Government has often been blamed unjustly for not gratifying the unreasonable expectations which the relatives of distinguished individuals have, in virtue of their connection, thought themselves entitled to cherish. We have no reason to believe that Park's family ever entertained such hopes, or expressed disappointment at the neglect which they have experienced from this quarter ; but it is unpleasant to reflect that the interest so universally expressed in this distinguished traveller, should never have led to any mark of attention to his orphan family. Except the sum for which he stipulated, previous to his setting out on his last journey, his children derived no advantage from their connection with one whose name must ever occupy an honourable place in the record of British enterprise : yet the country which reaped such benefit from his discoveries, and felt so deep an interest in his fate, would certainly not have been disposed to find fault, had Government extended to his family some of that patronage which has often been lavished on those who have less claim to its bounty.





APPENDIX. (A.)

MEMOIR DELIVERED BY MUNGO PARK, ESQ. TO LORD
CAMDEN, ON THE 4TH OF OCTOBER, 1804.

A particular account, 1st. Of the objects to which Mr Park's attention will be chiefly directed in his journey to the interior of Africa; 2dly. Of the means necessary for accomplishing that journey; and, 3dly. Of the manner in which he proposes to carry the plans of Government into execution.

The objects which Mr Park would constantly keep in view are, the extension of British commerce, and the enlargement of our geographical knowledge.

In directing his inquiries with respect to commerce, he would propose to himself the following subjects as worthy of particular investigation:—

1st. The route by which merchandise could be most easily transported to the Niger. This would be accomplished by attending to the nature of the country, whether wooded or open, having water or not, being abundant in provisions, or otherwise, and whether capable of furnishing the necessary beasts of burden.

2dly. The safety or danger of that route. This, by considering the general character of the natives,

their government, &c.; the jealousies that European merchants would be likely to excite, and the guard that would be necessary for the protection of the caravan.

3dly. The return of merchandise. This by making out lists of such articles as are produced in each district, and of such as are imported from the neighbouring kingdoms.

4thly. The value of merchandise. This could only be done by comparing the articles with each other; with gold as a standard, and with European articles in exchange.

5thly. Profits of trade. This could be ascertained by bartering one African article for another; an European article for an African, or an African or European article for gold.

6thly. The extent to which such a commerce might be carried. This by a careful and cautious comparison of the above, connected with habits of industry in the natives.

Mr Park would likewise turn his attention to the general fertility of the country, whether any part of it might be useful to Britain for colonization, and whether any objects of natural history, with which the natives are at present unacquainted, might be useful to Britain as a commercial nation.

Mr Park would propose to himself the following subjects in conducting his geographical researches:—

1st. To ascertain the correct latitude and longitude of the different places he visits in going to the Niger.

2dly. To ascertain, if possible, the termination of that river.

3dly. To make as accurate a survey of the river as his situation and circumstances will admit of.

4thly. To give a description of the different kingdoms on or near the banks of the river, with an account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

Means necessary for accomplishing the Journey.

30 European soldiers ; 6 European carpenters ; 15 or 20 Goree Negroes, most of them artificers ; 50 asses and 6 horses, or mules, to be purchased at St Jago.

Articles of Dress, &c. for the Soldiers and Negroes, exclusive of their common clothing.

Each man — Musquito veil ; hat with broad brim ; 2 flannel under vests, with sleeves ; 2 pairs of musquito trousers ; a pair of long leather gaiters ; additional pair of shoes ; greatcoat for sleeping, similar to what is worn by the cavalry ; knapsack and canteen for travelling.

Arms and Ammunition.

6 Rifle pieces ; 8 or 10 blunderbusses.

Each man — Gun and bayonet ; pair of pistols and belt ; cartridge-box and belt ; ball and pistol cartridges ; flints ; gunpowder ; small shot of different sizes.

Articles necessary for equipping the asses.

100 strong sacking bags ; 50 canvass saddles ; girths, buckles, halters ; 6 saddles and bridles for horses.

Articles necessary for building and rigging two Boats on the Niger, of the following dimensions, viz. :—

40 feet keel, 8 feet beam, to draw $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet water.

Carpenter's tools, including hatchets and long saws ; iron work and nails ; pitch and oakum ; cordage, rigging, and sails ; 2 boat compasses ; 2 spying-glasses, for day or night ; 2 small union flags ; 6 dark lanterns ; 2 tons of Carolina rice ; cooking utensils ; medicines and instruments.

List of merchandise for purchasing provisions and making the necessary presents to the kings of Woolli, Bondou, Kajaaga, Fooladoo, Bambarra, and the kings of the interior.

150 yards best blue India bafts ; 50 white ditto ; 200 scarlet cloth ; 30 blue ditto ; 20 green ditto ; 10 yellow ditto. Scarlet Salisbury flannel, red night caps, &c.

L.150 for amber ; L.50 for coral ; L.50 for mock coral ; L.50 for white and red garnets ; L.50 for red beads, black points, and piccadoes ; L.50 for gold beads, small black, white, and yellow ditto ; 5 double-barrelled guns ; 5 pairs of ditto pistols ; 5 swords with belts ; small mirrors ; knives ; scissors ; spectacles ; dollars.

A brief account of the manner in which Mr Park proposes to carry the plans of Government into execution.

Mr Park would touch at St Jago, in order to purchase the asses and mules, and a sufficient quantity of corn to maintain them during the voyage to Goree and up the Gambia. At Goree he proposes receiving on board the soldiers and negroes formerly mentioned, and would then proceed to Fattatenda, five hundred miles up the Gambia ; where, having first obtained permission from the King of Woolli, he would disembark with the troops, asses, &c. After having allowed time for refreshment, and the necessary arrangements being made, he would then proceed on his journey to the Niger. The route he intends pursuing would lead him through the kingdoms of Bondou, Kajaaga, Fooladoo, and Bambarra.

In conducting an expedition of this nature through such an extent of country, Mr Park is sensible that difficulties will unavoidably occur ; but he will be careful to use conciliatory measures on every occasion. He will state to the native princes the good understanding that has always subsisted between them and the English, and will invariably declare that his present journey is undertaken solely for the extension of commerce, and promotion of their mutual interests.

On his arrival at the Niger, his attention will be first directed to gain the friendship of the King of Bambarra. For this purpose he will send one of the Bambarra Dooties forward to Segou with a small present. This man will inform Mansong of our arrival in his

kingdom, and that it is our intention to come down to Sego with presents to him, as soon as he has given us permission, and we have provided the necessary means of conveying ourselves thither.

In the meantime, we must use every possible exertion to construct the two boats before mentioned with the utmost possible despatch. When the boats are completed, and every thing is ready for embarking, Mr Park would dispose of the beasts of burden ; giving some away in presents, and with the others purchasing provisions. If the King of Bambarra's answer is favourable, he would proceed immediately to Sego, and, having delivered the presents, solicit Mansong's protection as far as Jinnie. Here Mr Park's personal knowledge of the course of the Niger ends.

Proceeding farther, Mr Park proposes to survey the lake Dibbie, coasting along its southern shore. He would then proceed down the river by Jimbala and Kabra (the port of Timbuctoo,) through the kingdoms of Houssa, Nyffe, and Kashna, &c. to the kingdom of Wangara, being a direct distance of about one thousand four hundred miles from the place of embarkation.

If the river should unfortunately end here, Mr Park would feel his situation extremely critical ; he would, however, be guided by his distance from the coast, by the character of the surrounding nations, and by the existing circumstances of his situation.

To return by the Niger to the westward he apprehends would be impossible ; to proceed to the northward equally so ; and to travel through Abyssinia extremely dangerous. The only remaining route that holds out any hopes of success, is that towards the Bight of Guinea. If the river should take a southerly direction, Mr Park would consider it as his duty to follow it to its termination ; and if it should happily prove to be the river Congo, would there embark with the troops and negroes on board a slave vessel, and return to England from St Helena, or by way of the West Indies.

The following considerations have induced to think that the Congo will be found to be nation of the Niger :—

1st. The total ignorance of all the inhabitants of North Africa respecting the termination of the Niger. If the Niger ended any where in North Africa it is difficult to conceive how the inhabitants should be totally ignorant of it ; and why they should so describe it as running to the Nile, to the East, to the world, and, in fact, to a country with which they were unacquainted.

2dly. In Mr Horneman's journal the river is described as flowing eastwards into Bornou and takes the name of Zad. The breadth of the river is given him for one mile, and he was told that it flows towards the Egyptian Nile, through the land of the Heathens.* The course here given is direct to the Congo. Zad is the name of the Congo at its mouth, and it is the name of the Congo for about a hundred and fifty miles inland.

3dly. The river of Dar Kulla mentioned by Browne † is generally supposed to be the Niger. It at least has a communication with that river, and this is exactly the course the Niger ought to take in order to join the Congo.

4thly. The quantity of water discharged into the Atlantic by the Congo cannot be accounted for on any other known principle, but that it is the termination of the Niger. If the Congo derived its waters from the south side of the mountains, which are supposed to form the Belt of Africa, one would suppose that, when the rains were confined to the north side of the mountains, the Congo, like the Nile, would be greatly diminished in that its waters would become pure. On the other hand, the waters of the Congo are at all seasons muddy. The breadth of the river when at

* Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i.

† Browne's Travels, second edition, 4to. p. 354

is one mile, its depth is fifty fathoms, and its velocity six miles per hour.

5thly. The annual flood of the Congo commences before any rains have fallen south of the equator, and agree correctly with the floods of the Niger, calculating the water to have flowed from Bambarra at the rate of three miles per hour.

Mr Park is of opinion, that when your Lordship shall have duly weighed the above reasons, you will be induced to conclude that his hopes of returning by the Congo are not altogether fanciful; and that his expedition, though attended with extreme danger, promises to be productive of the utmost advantage to Great Britain.

Considered in a commercial point of view, it is second only to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; and, in a geographical point of view, is certainly the greatest discovery that remains to be made in this world.

(Signed) MUNGO PARK.

APPENDIX. (B.) Referred to p. 187.

[THE following passage is an extract from a letter addressed by Captain Maxwell to William Keir, of Milnholm, Esq. with a request that it should be communicated to Park :—]

“ Before ever the Niger came to be the topic of conversation, it struck me that the Congo drew its source far to the northward, from the floods commencing long before any rains take place south of the equator; since it begins to swell perceptibly about the latter end of October, and no heavy rains set in before December, and about the end of January the river must be supposed at its highest. At no time, however, can the rains to the southward of the Line be compared with those in the Bight of Guinea, where ships are obliged to have a house erected over them during these months.

“ But, whether the Congo be the outlet of the Niger or not, it certainly offers the best opening for exploring the interior of Africa of any scheme that has ever yet been attempted, and the ease and safety with which it might be conducted needs no comment. However, if the Niger has a sensible outlet, I have no doubt of its proving the Congo, knowing all the rivers between Cape Palmas and Cape Lopes to be inadequate to the purpose ; nor need the immense course of such a river surprise us, when we know that the river St Lawrence, contemptible in size when compared with the Congo, encompasses the whole of North America, issuing through a chain of lakes. But, instead of seven or eight lakes, the Congo may be supposed to pass through seventeen or eighteen, which will solve any difficulty as to the floods of the Niger not immediately affecting the Congo. I believe that our information of the Niger losing itself in the Desert rests wholly upon the authority of the Romans, a people whose pursuits never led them to trace the course of rivers with a view to traffic or civilization. If we may credit the accounts of travellers in crossing the deserts, we find that, wherever they get water for refreshment, there are invariably verdure and palm trees ; and these spots in the desert of Libya (if I am not mistaken) were termed Oases, or Islands. Now, if such small springs could produce such permanent effects, we may reasonably suppose, that the immense stream of the Niger, increased to three times the size from where Mr Park left it, would long before this have made the desert as green as any water meadow, and found its way gradually to the ocean, or inundated the whole country.

“ I can with much truth say this of the river Congo, that, by comparing it with other rivers, according to the best writers, it must rank as the third or fourth in magnitude. Considering the force of the current it produces in the sea, carrying out floating islands sixty or seventy leagues from the coast, the Amazon or Plata only can cope with it. Many traders, whom I

met with at Embomma, (a settlement on the banks of the Congo distant thirty leagues from its mouth,) had come one month's journey down the river, which, reckoned at twenty miles each day (and they count them by the moon, *Gonda*,) would make six hundred miles, and they spoke of it as equally large where they came from, and that it went by the name of *Enzaddi*, as it does among all the natives upon the coast. Should the shallow water, as laid down opposite Saenda, detract from the assumed size of the Congo, let it be remembered that the river there is spread out ten miles in width, the middle channel of which has never been accurately sounded. It has long been my opinion that Leyland's or Molyneux Island at Embomma (either of which might be rendered as impregnable as Gibraltar at a very small expense) would be a choice station for establishing an extensive commerce with the interior of Africa. Indeed, if the idea of the Congo being the outlet of the Niger prove so upon trial, we may consider it as an opening designed by Providence for exploring those vast regions, and civilizing the rude inhabitants."

APPENDIX. (C.)

EXTRACT FROM CAPTAIN CLAPPERTON'S TRAVELS,
RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF PARK.

We had all along been buoyed up with the hope of being able to obtain the journal and papers of the late Mungo Park at Boussa ; but, to our great mortification and disappointment we discovered, that they had been either destroyed, or conveyed no one could tell whither, many years before. The inhabitants were exceedingly reserved on the subject of the fatal catastrophe, and uniformly gave equivocating or evasive answers to our inquiries as to the manner in which it had occurred. They seemed, indeed, overwhelmed with shame at the part they or their fathers had taken in the dreadful tragedy, and did all in their power to shift the blame

from the shoulders of themselves and their countrymen.

The following appeared the most accurate and best authenticated version of the dismal story of the deaths of Park and Martyn, that I was enabled to obtain whilst I was in the country :—

The voyagers had reached Youri in safety, and were on intimate and familiar terms with its Sultan, father to the reigning prince, who entreated them to finish their journey through the country by land, instead of proceeding down the Quorra to the salt water ; observing, that the people inhabiting the islands and borders of the river, were ferocious in their manners, and would not suffer their canoe to proceed without having first rifled it of its contents, and exposed them to every species of indignity and insult ; and that if their lives were spared, they would infallibly be detained as domestic slaves. This evil report was considered as the effect of jealousy and prejudice : and, disregarding the prudent counsel of the Sultan of Youri, the ill-fated adventurers proceeded down the Quorra as far as the island of Boussa,* from whence their strange-looking canoe was observed by one or two of the inhabitants, whose shouts brought numbers of their companions, armed with bows and arrows, to the spot. At that time the usurpations of the Falatahs had begun to be the general talk of the black population of the country, so that the people of Boussa, who had only *heard* of that warlike nation, fancied Mr Park and his associates to be some of them, coming with the intention of taking their town, and subjugating its inhabitants. Under this impression, they saluted the unfortunate Englishmen from the beach with showers of missiles and poisoned arrows, which were returned by the latter with a discharge of musketry. A small white flag had been previously waved by our countrymen, in token

* It is not a little singular, that Clapperton, who actually visited the place, should have mistaken Boussa for an *island*. *Lander notices*, and corrects the mistake.

of their peaceable intentions ; but this symbol not being understood by the people of Boussa, they continued firing arrows, till they were joined by the whole male population of the island, when the unequal contest was renewed with greater violence than ever. In the meantime the Englishmen, with the blacks they had with them, kept firing unceasingly amongst the multitude on shore, killing many, and wounding a still greater number, till, their ammunition being expended, and seeing every hope of life cut off, they threw their goods overboard ; and desiring their sable assistants to swim towards the beach, locked themselves firmly in each other's arms, and springing into the water, instantly sank, and were never seen again.

The bodies of the two slaves, who attempted to save their lives by swimming, were pierced with a grove of arrows, but they subsequently recovered from the effects of their wounds, and were certainly alive when we were at Boussa, but, as I understood afterwards, they were carefully concealed in order to prevent our making any inquiries of them relative to the affair.

Resistance being thus at an end, the floating property had been eagerly laid hold of by the people of Boussa, and taken in triumph to their city. In the evening they formed a circle round it, and for several days and nights nothing was to be seen or heard but feasting and rejoicing ; but it happened that before their revelries were well over, an infectious disease, whereof they had not previously had the most distant idea, raged in the island, and swept off the Sultan, with numbers of his subjects ; and it was remarked, that those who had been most active in the destruction of the strangers were cut off to a man, expiring in great agony. The people endeavoured to appease the wrath of the white man's God, (by whose instrumentality they were firmly persuaded the destroying plague had reached them,) by the offering of sacrifices, and afterwards by setting fire to all the articles found on the surface of the water ; shortly after which, it is

asserted, the pestilence left the island. Meantime the news of the occurrence, and its fatal results, spread like wild-fire through the neighbouring states ; and the people of Boussa were stigmatized with a reproachful epithet, for having been guilty of so heinous a crime. Hence the studied reserve of the reigning Sultan and his subjects, which no consideration could tempt them to break through, so as to enter into the details of the tragedy ; and hence also the expression, so beneficial to us in those regions, and so prevalent amongst all ranks and conditions : “ Do not hurt the white men ; for if you do, you *will perish like the people of Boussa !*”

ACCOUNT OF PARK'S DEATH GIVEN TO CLAPPERTON
BY SULTAN BELLO.

“ He then spoke of Mungo Park, and said, that had he come in the rainy season, he would have passed the rocks ; but that the river fell so low in the dry season, boats could only pass at a certain point. He told me, that some timbers of the boat, fastened together with nails, remained a long time on the rocks ; and that a double-barrelled gun, taken in the boat, was once in his possession ; but it had lately burst. His cousin, Abderachman, however, had a small printed book taken out of the boat ; but he was now absent on an expedition to Nyffe. The other books were in the hands of the sultan of Youri, who was tributary to him. I told the sultan, if he could procure these articles for the King of England, they would prove a most acceptable present, and he promised to make every exertion in his power.”

A DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE DEATH OF
MUNGO PARK.

[From Clapperton's Travels.]

“ Hence be it known, that some Christians came to the town of Youri, in the kingdom of Yaoor, and landed and purchased provisions, as onions and other

things ; and they sent a present to the King of Yaoor. The said king desired them to wait until he should send them a messenger, but they were frightened, and went away by the sea (river.) They arrived at the town called Bossa, or Boossa, and their ship then rubbed (struck) upon a rock, and all of them perished in the river.

“ This fact is within our knowledge, and peace be the end.

“ It is genuine from Mohammed ben Dehmann.”

[In addition to the above, there is a kind of post-script appended to the document by a different hand ; which, being both ungrammatical and scarcely legible, I had some difficulty in translating and giving it a proper meaning. The words, however, are, I think, as follows ; though most of them have been made out by conjecture.]

“ And they agreed, or arranged among themselves, and swam in the sea, (river,) while the men who were with, (pursuing) them, appeared on the coast of the sea, (bank of the river,) and fell upon them till they went down (sunk) in it.”

APPENDIX. (D.)

[As every thing is interesting which is calculated to throw additional light on the unhappy fate of Park and his companions, the reader will not be sorry to have an opportunity of perusing, in this place, the following extracts from the Journal of Messrs Richard and John Lander. It is much to be regretted that their praiseworthy efforts to recover his papers were unsuccessful ; and it would now appear that any future attempt at obtaining them must be useless, as there can scarcely be a doubt that they perished with him, or have since been destroyed.]

“ Our visitors (the king and queen of Boossà) remained with us a considerable time, and in the course of conversation, one of them observed that they had

in their possession a tobe, which belonged to a white man who came from the north many years ago, and from whom it had been purchased by the king's father. We expressed great curiosity to see this tobe, and it was sent us as a present a short time after their departure. Contrary to our expectations, we found it to be made of rich crimson damask, and very heavy from the immense quantity of gold embroidery with which it was covered. As the time when the late king is said to have purchased this tobe corresponds very nearly to the supposed period of Mr Park's death, and as we never heard of any other white man having come from the north so far south as Boossà, we are inclined to believe it to be part of the spoil obtained from the canoe of that ill-fated traveller. Whether Mr Park wore the tobe himself, which is scarcely probable on account of its weight, or whether he intended it as a present to a native chief, we are at a loss to determine. At all events, the article is a curiosity in itself; and if we should live to return to England, we shall easily learn whether it was made there or not. The chief himself has never worn the tobe, nor did his predecessor, from a superstitious feeling; 'besides,' observed the king, 'it might excite the cupidity of the neighbouring powers.'

"*Sunday, June 20th.* — The king sent a messenger this morning, to inform us that he was a tailor, and that he would thank us for some thread and a few needles for his own private use. By this man he likewise sent a musket for us to repair; but as it is Sunday, we have declined doing it till to-morrow. Eager as we are to obtain even the slightest information relative to the unhappy fate of Mr Park and his companions, as well as to ascertain if any of their books or papers are now in existence at this place, we had almost made up our minds to refrain from asking any questions on the subject, because we were apprehensive that it might be displeasing to the king, and involve us in many perplexities. Familiarity, however, having in

some measure worn off this impression, and the king being an affable, obliging, and good-natured person, we were emboldened to send Paskoe to him this morning, with a message expressive of the interest we felt on the subject, in common with all our countrymen ; and saying that, if any books or papers which belonged to Mr Park were yet in his possession, he would do us a great service by delivering them into our hands, or at least by granting us permission to see them. To this the king returned for answer, that when Mr Park was lost in the Niger, he was a very little boy, and that he knew not what had become of his effects ; that the deplorable event had occurred in the reign of the late king's predecessor, who died shortly after ; and that all traces of the white man had been lost with him. This answer disappointed our hopes, for to us it appeared final and decisive. But in the evening they were again raised by a hint from our host, who is the king's drummer, and one of the principal men in the country : he assured us there was certainly one book at least saved from Mr Park's canoe, which is now in the possession of a very poor man in the service of his master, to whom it had been intrusted by the late king during his last illness. He said, moreover, that if but one application were made to the king, on any subject whatever, very little was thought of it ; but if a second were made, the matter would be considered of sufficient importance to demand his whole attention—such being the custom of the country. The drummer therefore recommended us to persevere in our inquiries, for he had no doubt that something to our satisfaction would be elicited. At his own request, we sent him to the king immediately, desiring him to repeat our former statement, and to assure the king, that should he be successful in recovering the book we wanted, our monarch would reward him handsomely. He desired the drummer to inform us, that he would use every exertion, and examine the man who was reported to have the white man's book in his possession, at an

early hour to-morrow. Here the matter at present rests."

" In the afternoon the king came to see us, followed by a man with a book under his arm, which was said to have been picked up in the Niger after the loss of our countryman. It was enveloped in a large cotton cloth, and our hearts beat high with expectation as the man was slowly unfolding it, for by its size we guessed it to be Mr Park's journal ; but our disappointment and chagrin were great, when, on opening the book, we discovered it to be an old nautical publication of the last century. The title page was missing, but its contents were chiefly tables of logarithms. It was a thick royal quarto, which led us to conjecture that it was a journal ; between the leaves we found a few loose papers, of very little consequence indeed ; one of them contained two or three observations on the height of the water in the Gambia ; one was a tailor's bill on a Mr Anderson ; and another was addressed to Mr Mungo Park, and contained an invitation to dinner, — the following is a copy of it : —

" Mr and Mrs Watson would be happy to have the pleasure of Mr Park's company at dinner on Tuesday next, at half-past five o'clock.

" An answer is requested.

" *Strand 9th Nov. 1804.*'

" The king, as well as the owner of the book, looked as greatly mortified as ourselves, when they were told that the one produced was not that of which we were in quest, because the reward promised would not, of course, be obtained. As soon as our curiosity had been fully satisfied, the papers were carefully collected and placed again between the leaves, and the book as carefully folded in its envelope as before, and taken away by its owner, who values it as much as a household god. Thus all our hopes of obtaining Mr Park's journal or papers, in this city, are entirely defeated. The inquiry, on our part, has not been prosecuted

without much trouble and anxiety, and some little personal sacrifices likewise, which, had they been ten times as great, we would gladly have made whilst a single hope remained of their being effectual."

[At Yâoorie, or Yaour, they still prosecuted the inquiry with a more sanguine hope of success, as the sultan had formerly sent a message to Captain Clapperton, inviting a visit from him, and promising to give him some papers which had belonged to a white man, who had many years before sailed down the Niger,—by whom he certainly meant Park. Accordingly they took the opportunity of a visit paid them by no less a person than the *Prime Minister* of the sultan, to ask some questions upon the subject.]

"Though toothless, the old man was yet very communicative and intelligent; and, among other things, he informed us that Mr Park did not visit the city of Yaoorie, but remained in his canoe at the village where we landed yesterday, and despatched a messenger in his stead to the sultan, with a suitable present. This Arab had been sent by the sultan to the village with presents in return, and by his description of Mr Park's dress, he must have worn the laced tobe that we received of the King of Boossa, and which may account for the facility with which we obtained it, as well as the reluctance of the king to enter into an explanation of the manner in which his ancestor had got possession of it. Mr Park is stated to have been drowned in this same dress. The Arab informed us, that he had in his possession a cutlass and a double-barrelled gun, which was part of Mr Park's present to the sultan. We expressed a wish to look at these weapons, and they were immediately sent for. The gun was very excellent, and handsomely mounted; and we offered our own fowling-piece in exchange for it, which was cheerfully agreed to, but not till after the sultan's consent had in the first place been obtained."

[Upon their being introduced into the presence of the sultan himself, they renewed the same subject.]

“ When we asked him whether he did not letter to the late Captain Clapperton while that was at Koofu, in which he had affirmed that certain books and papers in his possession belonged to Mr Park, he appeared very mused. After thinking and hesitating a good while, he answered with an affected laugh, ‘ How do you think that I could have the books of a person that was at Boossa ? ’ ”

[At a subsequent interview they pressed him a decisive answer upon the subject, when ‘ he bowed to God in the most solemn manner, that he had never seen any books or papers in his possession, nor seen any books or papers of the white traveller that perished at Boossa.]

“ Thus, notwithstanding all the false hopes which the sultan artfully held out to us, that Mr Park’s letters were actually in his possession, his letter to Clapperton, which expressly stated this to be true, and the pitiful shuffling which he has displayed to us so long in suspense with respect to any truth, it appears then, without doubt, that he has never had, and never has had, a single book or paper in English language. His only motive for the conduct he has displayed, could have been more nor less than the hope of getting us into his power by misrepresentation and falsehood, in order to obtain some of the European articles which were in our possession. That the sultan has succeeded with us has not been our fault entirely ; but even if he is by no means satisfied, nor is it likely that he will be whilst we remain with him. It is a satisfaction at least for us to know that the long-sought papers are at present no where in existence.”

[At Wowow, which the Landers afterwards visited, and where Mr John Lander was detained for some time by sickness after his brother had returned from Boussa, his curiosity was once more excited by reports about Park’s property.]

“ *Friday, August 20th.* — The widow Zuma

a son at Wowow, who is about thirty years of age, and is suffered to reside here only because he is at variance with his captious mother, and disapproves and condemns all her measures. This young man has been a constant daily visiter to me, and brings me occasionally a dish of pounded yam and palm-oil, a few goora nuts, or some such trifle. At our request he has busied himself surprisingly in endeavouring to procure information respecting the papers of Mr Park. Though nearly blind, *Abba* (for that is his name) is a handsome and intelligent young man, of an equable temper, and of a mild, modest, and amiable disposition, which has rendered him a great favourite with us. From the information with which he has supplied us, we learn that the late King of Wowow, who was father to the present ruler, became possessed of much of Mr Park's property, amongst which was a great quantity of guns and ammunition, particularly musket balls, which we have seen. Before this monarch's dissolution, he left them to be divided amongst his sons. *Abba* ascertained yesterday that a large fat woman, belonging to the king, had a great pillow which her deceased husband had snatched, amongst other things, from the Niger, near Boossa, and with which he had fled to Wowow, where he continued to reside till his death. This pillow, as it is called, had perhaps been used for a seat, for it was covered with bullock's hide, and strengthened by ribs of iron ; but the covering having been worn into holes with age and use, it was yesterday pulled to pieces by its owner, who found it to be stuffed with rags and cloth cut into small bits. In the centre of the pillow, however, to the woman's surprise, she discovered a little bag of striped satin, and feeling something like a book, as she says, within it, she was afraid to open it herself, but presently sent word to *Abba* of the circumstance, who forthwith came and imparted it to me, bringing the little bag along with him. On opening it I found a little iron frame, round which had been wound. with much ingenuity and care. a great quantity

is said to be a child's handcuff of foreign and underneath the cotton, was an oil which, according to Abba's opinion, is a But as I mistrusted his knowledge of the language, and doubted his ability to give a pretation of the contents of the paper judgment I was induced to believe it more nor less than a charm of some kind I purchased the manuscript, because it greater consequence than I imagined, and bag in which it had been enveloped was satin, and the ink with which it had been different from that which is used by the . bling our own so closely, that the difference colour of both cannot be distinguished advised by no means to intimate to the nature of Abba's inquiries, for the people afraid of him, and declare that if he individual that had secreted ever so true of Mr Park's property, he would be beheld mercy."

